FOREIGN
BROADCAST
INFORMATION
SERVICE

Daily Report

East Europe

FBIS-EEU-95-175
Monday
11 September 1995

Daily Report
East Europe

FBIS-EEU-95-175 CONTENTS *11 September 1995*

NOTICE: This volume contains a representative selection of material previously disseminated in softcopy format.

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

Meeting Ends With Agreement on Bosnia's Division *[Belgrade Radio]* 1
    Text of Agreement *[AFP]* 1
    Text of Joint Statement *[TANJUG]* 1
Bosnian Serbs: Republic Recognized for First Time *[Belgrade Radio]* 2

INTER-EUROPEAN AFFAIRS

Polish Prime Minister Calls for CEFTA Expansion *[Prague Radio]* 3

ALBANIA

Berisha Hopes for Fruitful Talks in U.S. *[Tirana TV]* 4
    Will Seek Further U.S. Aid *[AFP]* 4
    Socialist Paper Welcomes Visit *[ZERI I POPULLIT 10 Sep]* 4
Berisha: 'Common Efforts' Can End FRY Conflict *[Tirana TV]* 5
Zhulali, Romania's Tinca Sign Military Protocol *[Tirana TV]* 5
Berisha Denounces Presence of Marx in PS Program *[RILINDJA DEMOKRATIKE 8 Sep]* 5
    PS Head Defends Use of Marx *[GAZETA SHQIPTARE 9 Sep]* 6
Opposition Representatives Visit 'Besieged' Brozi *[KOHA JONE 8 Sep]* 7
    'Totally United' for Brozi *[KOHA JONE 8 Sep]* 7
Brozi Says Postponement of Nano Trial 'Illegal' *[KOHA JONE 9 Sep]* 8

BULGARIA

Zhelev Rejects Yeltsin Stance on NATO Expansion *[Sofia Radio]* 9
Ships Allegedly Delivering Naphtha to Serbia *[24 CHASA 6 Sep]* 9

CZECH REPUBLIC

Havel Welcomes Opening of RFE HQ in Prague *[Prague Radio]* 10
Article Evaluates U.S. Offer of F-18 Aircraft *[MLADA FRONTA DNES 4 Sep]* 10
Three Arrested for Dealing in Plastic Explosives *[Prague Radio]* 11
Economic Situation for First Half of 1995 *[HOSPODARSKE NOVINY 5 Sep]* 11

SLOVAKIA

Meciar on Meeting With Hungarian Prime Minister *[Bratislava TV]* 13
    Further on Meeting *[Bratislava Radio]* 15
Minister Sitek Receives German Defense Official *[Bratislava Radio]* 15
Schenk Reiterates Views on Nuclear Testing *[Bratislava TV]* 16
Chemical Weapons Convention, Treaties Approved *[Bratislava Radio]* 16
Ducky Comments on CEFTA Trade, Brno Talks *[Bratislava Radio]* 16
Project for Dismantling Bohunice Plant Outlined *[SLOVENSKA REPUBLIKA 2 Sep]* 17

HUNGARY

Geneva Planted 'Roots' of Greater Serbia, Croatia *[MAGYAR HIRLAP 11 Sep]* 18
Kovacs Reacts With 'Caution' to Geneva Agreement *[Budapest Radio]* 18
  Backs NATO Membership *[NEPSZABADSAG 9 Sep]* 18
Keleti: Money Available for Army Modernization *[Budapest TV]* 18
Horn, Peto Interviewed on Future of Coalition *[Budapest TV]* 19
Analysts Say Coalition Peace Might Be Fragile *[MAGYAR HIRLAP 8 Sep]* 21

BOSNIA-HERZEGOVINA

President: Territory Exchange Ruled Out *[Sarajevo Radio]* 23
Izetbegovic:'Heading Towards Peace' After Geneva *[AFP]* 23
Izetbegovic Guarantees No Sarajevo Offensives *[Sarajevo Radio]* 24
Silajdzic on Basic Principle of State Sovereignty *[Sarajevo Radio]* 24
  Sovereignty 'Not for Negotiation' *[Sarajevo Radio]* 25
Silajdzic Rejects New 'Berlin Wall' in Sarajevo *[London AL-SHARQ AL-AWSAT 10 Sep]* 25
EU Negotiator on Bosnian Peace Efforts *[BBC]* 25
Sacirbegovic Discusses Views on Peace Accord 26
  Rejects Union With Serbia *[Paris LIBERATION 8 Sep]* 26
  Welcomes Geneva Agreement *[London TV]* 27
  Places Condition on Peace *[AFP]* 27
Ganic 'Successfully Recovering' From Car Crash *[Sarajevo Radio]* 27
Geneva Meeting 'Minor Progress' Toward Peace *[Sarajevo Radio]* 27
Liberals: 'War Is Over,' U.S. Soldiers Coming *[Sarajevo Radio]* 28
Social Democrats: Accord Contradicts Referendum *[Sarajevo Radio]* 28
Presidency Member Views U.S. Peace Proposals *[LJILJAN 6 Sep]* 28
MBO Opposes Attempts To Partition State *[Sarajevo Radio]* 30
Karadzic, Krajisnik React to Geneva Agreement *[SRNA]* 31
Serbia Recognizes 'Legal Existence,' B-H Borders *[AFP]* 31
Serb Statement on NATO Air Strikes, Offensive *[Belgrade Radio]* 31
Mladic's Character 'Cannot Suit Milosevic' *[MONITOR 8 Sep]* 32
Bosnian Serb Koljevic Discusses Geneva Agreement *[Belgrade TV]* 32
Serb Red Cross: Stop Bombing of Civilians *[TANJUG]* 33
  'Many' Civilians Killed *[TANJUG]* 33

CROATIA

Commentary Opposes U.S. Partition Plan for B-H *[NOVI LIST 5 Sep]* 34
Zagreb Radio Reports Details of Geneva Agreement 36
Granic on Reintegration of Eastern Slavonia 37
  'Serb Attempt To Buy Time' *[Zagreb Radio]* 37
  Accord Must Include Eastern Slavonia *[Zagreb Radio]* 37
RSK, Croatia on Eastern Slavonia Cease-Fire *[Belgrade Radio]* 38
Sarinic: FRY Army Must Withdraw From Sector *[Zagreb Radio]* 38
Martic Views Causes of Fall of Krajina *[Banja Luka TV]* 38
Over 1,200 Serbs in Knin Want To Go to FRY *[TANJUG]* 41
Sarinic, Akashi Agree on Serbs in Knin Barracks *[Zagreb Radio]* 42
Helsinki Watch Warns of Human Rights Violations *[TANJUG]* 42

POLAND

- Walesa Reacts to Yeltsin's Remarks on NATO *[PAP]* 43
  - Reaction From Prime Minister *[Warsaw TV]* 43
  - Oleksy: Poland Can Feel Secure *[Warsaw Radio]* 43
  - Comments by SLD Leader *[Warsaw Radio]* 43
- Cabinet Approves Steps Adjusting Poland to EU *[RZECZPOSPOLITA 6 Sep]* 43
- Daily Comments on French Nuclear Test *[ZYCIE WARSZAWY 9 Sep]* 45
- Prime Minister Oleksy on Governing, Election *[POLITYKA 2 Sep]* 45
- Walesa Names Jerzy Gwizdz To Head Campaign *[ZYCIE WARSZAWY 8 Sep]* 50
- Editor Comments on Campaign, Division of Society *[RZECZPOSPOLITA 8 Sep]* 51
- Privatization Ministry To Issue Tenders *[RZECZPOSPOLITA 4 Sep]* 52

ROMANIA

- Foreign Minister Interviewed on Yugoslav Crisis *[ROMANIA LIBERA 2 Sep]* 54
- Ethnic Germans Criticize Romanian Education Law *[Budapest Radio]* 57
- Lupu's 'Anti-Russian Stand' Hurdle to SRI Post *[ROMANIA LIBERA 6 Sep]* 57

SLOVENIA

- Negotiations With Italy To Resume 'Soon' *[Ljubljana Radio]* 58
- Government Concern Over New Refugee Influx *[VECER 3 Aug]* 58

YUGOSLAVIA

Federal

- Russia's Ivanov Comments on NATO Strikes *[Belgrade Radio]* 59
- Milutinovic Hails 'Serb Republic' Recognition *[Belgrade Radio]* 59
- China, Russia View Lifting of Sanctions 60
  - Beijing To Step Up Efforts *[TANJUG]* 60
  - Yeltsin Decision Noted *[TANJUG]* 60
- Milosevic Congratulated on Bosnia Peace *[Belgrade Radio]* 60
- Foreign Minister Views Geneva Agreement *[Belgrade TV]* 60
- Milutinovic: Desire for Lasting Peace Not Weakness *[TANJUG]* 61
- Milosevic: Geneva Accord 'Key' to B-H Crisis *[AFP]* 62
- Serb, Montenegrin Parties Hail Geneva Agreement *[TANJUG]* 62
- Parties on Geneva Agreement, NATO Air Strikes *[TANJUG]* 63

Serbia

- Milosevic, Russia's Ivanov on Peace Settlement *[Belgrade Radio]* 64
- Fodor Hails Yeltsin Decree on Sanctions *[TANJUG]* 64
- SPS Welcomes Geneva Agreement on Bosnia *[Belgrade Radio]* 65
- Parties Praise Milosevic on Geneva Agreement *[TANJUG]* 65
- United Yugoslav Left Hails Geneva Agreement *[Belgrade TV]* 66
- SPS Main Committee Attacks Milosevic's Policy *[TELEGRAF 6 Sep]* 66
- Seselj: Milosevic 'Sunk Into Treason' Over RSK *[NASA BORBA 8 Sep]* 67
- Serb Opposition Parties Criticize NATO Action *[TANJUG]* 67

Kosovo

- Rugova Receives Dutch, German, Canadian Diplomats *[KOSOVA DAILY REPORT]* 68
- Rugova Demands Halt to Serb Refugee Influx *[KOSOVA DAILY REPORT]* 68
- 'Tense' Situation in Decani After Serb Raids *[Editorial Report]* 69

Meeting Ends With Agreement on Bosnia's Division

LD0809145995 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1431 GMT 8 Sep 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Geneva, 8 Sep (TANJUG)—A meeting of the Yugoslav, Croatian, and Sarajevo's Muslim government foreign ministers has ended in Geneva with agreement on basic principles for achieving an agreement on dividing Bosnia between the Muslim-Croat Federation and the Serb Republic.

After three rounds of plenary talks and several bilateral encounters, the meeting ended with verbal acceptance of a document on the basic principles that paves the way for an international peace conference at the highest level to be held in the near future and that will be dedicated to achieving a political agreement on Bosnia's future.

Text of Agreement

AU0809165295 Paris AFP in English 1628 GMT 8 Sep 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Geneva, Sept 8 (AFP)—The former Yugoslav republics of Bosnia-Herzegovina, Croatia and rump Yugoslavia agreed the following text at Friday's meeting [8 September] here chaired by U.S. Assistant Secretary of State Richard Holbrooke.

Agreed Basic Principles

1. Bosnia and Herzegovina will continue its legal existence with its present borders and continuing international recognition.

2. Bosnia and Herzegovina will consist of two entities, the Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina as established by the Washington Agreements, and the Republica Srpska (RS).

2.1 The 51:49 parameter of the territorial proposal of the Contact Group is the basis for a settlement. This territorial proposal is open for adjustment by mutual agreement.

2.2 Each entity will continue to exist under its present constitution (amended to accommodate these basic principles.)

2.3 Both entities will have the right to establish parallel special relationships with neighbouring countries, consistent with the sovereignty and territorial integrity of Bosnia and Herzegovina.

2.4 The two entities will enter into reciprocal commitments a) to hold complete elections under international auspices; b) to adopt and adhere to normal international human rights standards and obligations, including the obligation to allow freedom of movement and enable displaced persons to repossess their homes or receive just compensation; c) to engage in binding arbitration to resolve disputes between them.

3. The entities have agreed in principle to the following:

3.1 The appointment of a Commission for Displaced Persons authorized to enforce (with assistance from international entities) the obligations of both entities to enable displaced persons to repossess their homes or receive just compensation.

3.2 The establishment of a Bosnia and Herzegovina Human Rights Commission, to enforce the entities' human rights obligations. The two entities will abide by the Commission's decisions.

3.3 The establishment of joint Bosnia and Herzegovina public corporations, financed by the two entities, to own and operate transportation and other facilities for the benefit of both entities.

3.4 The appointment of a Commission to Preserve National Monuments.

3.5 The design and implementation of a system of arbitration for the solution of disputes between the two entities.

Text of Joint Statement

LD0909111795 Belgrade TANJUG in English 0843 GMT 9 Sep 95

["Pool" item]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Geneva, Sept 8 (TANJUG)—Talks between the foreign ministers of Yugoslavia, Croatia and the Bosnian Muslim-Croat Federation and Contact Group officials are an important step closer to peace in Bosnia, said a statement issued after the meeting on Friday.

The agreement reached could not, however, be said to be the end of the war, because there are still significant differences between the sides that will require continued intense negotiations, the statement said.

The negotiators also agreed basic principles for settling the Bosnian crisis.

Following are full texts of the joint statement and the agreed basic principles:

(Begin text of joint statement):

We have just concluded a meeting, held under the auspices of the Contact Group, of the foreign ministers of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina (Bosnia and Herzegovina), the Republic of Croatia (Croatia) and the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (Yugoslavia).

The Contact Group announces today that the three foreign ministers, speaking for their governments—the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina, the Republic of Croatia, and the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, which also represents the Bosnian Serbs in a joint delegation—have authorised us to issue the attached agreed basic principles. All three governments—and their presidents—agree that these principles will govern the difficult negotiations to come, and all agreed, after some tough discussions, to the exact words of this important statement. With regard to Eastern Slavonia, Baranja, and Western Srijem, the co-chairmen are committed to a solution as part of an overall peace settlement and will make it a top priority when they return to the region next week.

The statement takes us an important step closer to peace. Yet, important as it is, this statement does not constitute the end of the tragedy in the Balkans. Far from it. Significant differences exist between the sides—differences that will require continued intense negotiations. We will return to our respective capitals tonight for consultations. Next week Assistant Secretary of State Richard Holbrooke and European Union special negotiator for the former Yugoslavia Carl Bildt will return to the region with their delegations, and tomorrow First Deputy Minister Igor Ivanov of Russia will go to Belgrade.

The Contact Group will meet again in Geneva next week at the Russian mission to the negotiations. Subsequent meetings will be held in Moscow and in an expanded format in Rome. Following yesterday's important meeting in Paris, we have also been consulting closely with the representative of the Organisation of the Islamic Conference and will continue to do so within an institutionalised coordinating structure.

The statement we are issuing today is an important milestone in the search for peace. Today's statement contains many significant points. Within its current internationally recognised borders, it is agreed that Bosnia and Herzegovina will be comprised of two democratic entities, the existing federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina and Republica Srpska. Bosnian territory will be divided—the federation with 51 percent and the Serbian entity with 49 percent. They also agreed today to create a commission to enforce accepted international human rights standards within their territories. They agreed to allow freedom of movement within Bosnia's borders and allow displaced persons to return to their homes. Each entity will be self-governing, with its own constitution. While the sovereignty and territorial integrity of Bosnia and Herzegovina will continue, additional joint institutions at the level of Bosnia and Herzegovina are envisioned.

Clearly much remains to be done. The hardest work still lies ahead. The entities have yet to develop a design for a central connecting structure to oversee the already cooperative efforts and to elaborate other joint efforts in areas where cooperation is the only way to solve common problems. In addition, the parties need to define their internal borders within Bosnia in accordance with the 51-49 principle. We should be under no illusions that these will be easy tasks: they can be solved only through intense negotiations backed by a genuine desire to achieve peace. Finally, any agreement must be implemented by all sides, and this could be the hardest part.

The attached basic principles have been agreed upon today by H.E. Muhamed Sacirbegovic, foreign minister of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina (Bosnia and Herzegovina). H.E. Mate Granic, foreign minister of the Republic of Croatia (Croatia). And H.E. Milan milutinovic, foreign minister of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (Yugoslavia), and witnessed by representatives of France, Germany, Russia, the United Kingdom, and the United States, and by the European Union special negotiator for the former Yugoslavia. (end joint statement) [passage indistinct]

Bosnian Serbs: Republic Recognized for First Time

LD0809152795 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1445 GMT 8 Sep 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Geneva, 8 Sep (TANJUG)—Nikola Koljevic, deputy president of the [Bosnian] Serb Republic, told TANJUG that the document adopted at today's meeting between Yugoslav, Croatian, and Sarajevo's Muslim foreign ministers and the Contact Group in Geneva means that the international community recognizes and legitimizes the Serb Republic for the first time.

The right of the Serbian Republic to its own constitution is also recognized, as is the right to links to Yugoslavia, which is equally important, said Koljevic.

Although it was just a preliminary meeting, at which a document was adopted verbally, equal rights of the Muslim-Croat Federation and the Serb Republic were confirmed on several occasions, as was an important guarantee that nothing will be considered adopted until a definite agreement is reached on all issues concerning Bosnia's future.

This has paved the way to the holding as soon as possible of an international conference on Bosnia at the highest level, said Koljevic.

Polish Prime Minister Calls for CEFTA Expansion

LD1109102295 Prague Radiozurnal Radio Network in Czech 0900 GMT 11 Sep 95

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] The meeting of the Central European Free Trade Association [CEFTA] countries' prime ministers opened in Brno today with talks held by all delegations. Our correspondent Miroslav Konvalina is in on the line from the press center.

[Konvalina] The first meeting of the delegations of CEFTA member countries—that is, of the Czech Republic, Poland, Hungary, and Slovakia—as well as of the representatives of invited countries—Slovenia, Romania, Bulgaria, and Lithuania—started approximately an hour ago in the Brno International Hotel.

The talks are being held behind closed doors, and, unlike at the meeting of the prime ministers in Poznan last year, the deliberations are not being transmitted to the press center.

However, the address by Polish Prime Minister Jozef Oleksy has already been made available. The prime minister welcomed the possibility of further expansion of CEFTA by admitting Lithuania and the Baltic countries. He suggested that trade liberalization should expand by the inclusion of food and agricultural products. The Polish prime minister welcomed the Czech Republic's proposal to extend the dialogue by including on the agenda services as well as capital and work-force mobility. Oleksy proposed, among other things, to set up a Central European bank. With regard to West European institutions, Warsaw arrived here with the proposal to coordinate the activities of the countries of Central and East Europe in their contacts with the European Union, NATO, the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development, and other international institutions. [passage omitted]

Berisha Hopes for Fruitful Talks in U.S.

AU0909174295 Tirana TVSH Television Network in Albanian 1635 GMT 9 Sep 95

[Interview with President Sali Berisha by Armir Shkurti in Tirana on 9 September, just before Berisha's departure for the United States—recorded]

[FBIS Translated Text] [Shkurti] Mr. President, it is reported that the schedule of your meetings during these days will be very full. What do you expect by the end of the visit?

[Berisha] I hope that the end of this visit will mark a further strengthening of cooperation and friendship between Albania and the United States. I am going to the United States precisely to discuss the strengthening of these relations, which should consequently result in greater assistance on the part of the United States in consolidating the law-governed state and the market economy in Albania. At the same time, we will extensively present our views on the problem of Kosovo and the situation of Albanians in general.

Will Seek Further U.S. Aid

AU1109072595 Paris AFP in English 2345 GMT 10 Sep 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Geneva, Sept 11 (AFP)—Albanian President Sali Berisha will be seeking further aid from the United States when he meets U.S. leaders in Washington this week, he said in an interview published Monday [11 September] by the Albanian daily BOTA SOT.

"American support is necessary to strengthen our market economy," Berisha said ahead of his meetings from Tuesday with President Bill Clinton, Vice President Al Gore, Secretary of State Warren Christopher and Defense Secretary William Perry.

U.S. aid to Albania since 1992 has totalled $160 million, according to U.S. sources in Tirana.

Berisha said he would also be discussing the situation in the Balkans, and particularly in the tense Albanian-populated Serbian province of Kosovo.

BOTA SOT, whose European edition is published in Switzerland, said Belgrade had settled 6,000 Serb refugees from the formerly Serb-held Krajina region of Croatia in Kosovo and wanted to double this number.

Berisha is also scheduled to meet UN Secretary General Butrus Butrus-Ghali and officials of the World Bank and International Monetary Fund during his U.S. trip.

Socialist Paper Welcomes Visit

AU1009144595 Tirana ZERI I POPULLIT in Albanian 10 Sep 95 p 1

[Editorial: "The Dimensions of Friendship"]

[FBIS Translated Text] The departure for the United States of the president, Mr. Sali Berisha, is a notable event in the country's political life and in the international relations Albania has created since the victory of democracy.

We Socialists welcomed this visit when it was first announced, because it is an honor shown to Albania by the United States. The United States is today a country with the greatest economic and military potential, a developed democracy that sets an example to all other countries. It plays a decisive role in every situation in the world today. Albania and her cause, her independence, and her progress feel safer with a great and powerful ally like the United States. The friendship between the Albanian and American peoples has deep roots and has been fortified in joint struggles, especially against fascism in World War II. Some of the most brilliant figures of our history and national renaissance found refuge in the United States, and worked and fought there for the Albanian cause. The Albanians of the United States have found there, not only prosperity for themselves and their families, but, above all, unstinting support for the national problem. U.S. policy today too, continued and carried further forward by President Clinton's administration, has raised its voice in defense of the rights of the Albanians in Kosovo, warning the Serbian warmongers that any attempt to extend the conflict there will be punished.

Albanian-U.S. friendship has nothing to do with parties. It is not the property of the Democratic Party, its government, or Mr. Berisha personally. The invitation has been extended to the president of Albania and it involves the friendship of the American people and state for the Albanian people, whatever political convictions they may hold within the framework of established political pluralism and on the irreversible path of democracy we are following.

The visit of the president of the republic to the United States has rightly aroused hopes that it will result in tangible steps to unblock the question of the political future of Kosovo. Without a fair solution to this question, there can be no fair and conclusive solution to the entire crisis in the former Yugoslavia. We express the wish that the visit of the president of the republic to the United Sates and his meeting with the most senior representatives of the U.S. Administration, including Mr. Clinton, will lead to a greater U.S. contribution to all political, social, and economic developments in Albania, in order to place the laws of a modern democracy at the foundation of our entire life. It brings joy to all Albanians and encourages them to hope for tangible results in strengthening friendship between our two countries and for the exertion of influence toward a fair solution of the national cause and the "democratization" of the democracy that we want to build.

Berisha: 'Common Efforts' Can End FRY Conflict

AU0809200795 Tirana TVSH Television Network in Albanian 1800 GMT 8 Sep 95

[FBIS Translated Text] The President's Press and Information Office reports that President of the Republic of Albania Sali Berisha received Romanian Defense Minister Mr. Gheorghe Tinca.

I am pleased with the development of good relations existing between our two countries, including the military ones as well, President Berisha pointed out at the meeting with Defense Minister Tinca. These relations serve not only our common interest, but also peace and stability in the region, which currently needs cooperation and understanding more than ever. The conflict that continues in the former Yugoslavia can be finally resolved with good and common efforts by all countries. However, to achieve this, it is necessary that the Yugoslav crisis be treated as one entity.

For his part, after conveying special greeting from Romanian President Iliescu to President Berisha, Mr. Tinca expressed his readiness to strengthen the relations between our two countries and Armies to the benefit of establishing stability and understanding in the region.

Zhulali, Romania's Tinca Sign Military Protocol

AU1009175095 Tirana TVSH Television Network in Albanian 1800 GMT 9 Sep 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Continuing his visit to our country, at a meeting held with Azem Hajdari, chairman of the Parliamentary Commission of Defense, Order, and ShIK [National Information Service], Romanian Defense Minister Gheorghe Tinca was acquainted with aspects of the work done to approve a contemporary legislation, preceding the reformation of the Armed Forces of the Republic of Albania.

Both interlocutors expressed the need to cooperate in the military field with a reciprocal interest for both countries, as well as in that of security and stability in the region.

Albanian Foreign Minister Alfred Serreqi today received Defense Minister Tinca at a meeting. Mr. Serreqi presented an outline of bilateral relations and the situation in the Balkan region and beyond. Serreqi also stressed that Albania is interested in an expeditious and just solution to the crisis in former Yugoslavia. Condemning the settlement of the Serb colonists to Kosovo, Serreqi stressed that this action makes the situation in the region tense and destabilizes it.

After expressing his pleasure with the meeting and the results of his talks with President Berisha and other top Albanian personalities, Romanian Defense Minister Tinca stressed that the military cooperation between our two countries will contribute to further expanding our bilateral relations. Among other things, Tinca pointed out that what unites our two countries is the aim to keep the conflict in former Yugoslavia from spreading further and to reach a political solution.

At the end of Mr. Tinca's visit to Tirana, a cooperation protocol was signed between the Albanian Defense Ministry and the Romanian National Defense Ministry. For the Albanian side, the protocol was signed by Defense Minister Safet Zhulali, and the Romanian side by Defense Minister Tinca.

The cooperation protocol envisages activities, exchange visits of delegations and military of our two armies with the status of an observer in various activities of the Partnership for Peace, and cooperation in the field of jurisprudence, thus making possible to exchange experience and further boost cooperation in the military field.

Today, the Romanian defense minister paid a visit to the Academy of Noncommissioned Officers, where he was closely acquainted with the work to prepare noncommissioned officers according to the U.S. experience.

Defense Minister Tinca concluded his two-day visit to Albania and departed from our country today. Albanian Defense Minister Zhulali saw him off at the Rinas airport.

Berisha Denounces Presence of Marx in PS Program

AU0909142695 Tirana RILINDJA DEMOKRATIKE in Albanian 8 Sep 95 p 1

[Statement issued by Presidential Press and Information Office, date not given: "Groundless Fantasies and Insinuations"]

[FBIS Translated Text] In the last few days, the Albanian press has published a series of articles in connection with the presence of the doctrine of Marx in the program of the Socialist Party [PS]. It is the right of the press itself to select and interpret its material, especially when such an important issue as a party program is concerned. However, the authors of these articles have permitted themselves suppositions involving the president of the republic, alluding to his flirtation with a group of leaders of the PS or mentioning pressures exerted on this party by the president.

In connection with the insinuations of these articles, the president's spokesman states:

The president of the republic, while unswerving in his respect for all the parties and political forces in the constitutional spectrum, considers the presence of the Marx doctrine in the program of the PS or any other political party to be an ill omen not only for that party, but for the political life of the country as a whole and a matter of political irresponsibility fraught with genuinely dangerous consequences for the present and future reputation of Albania. The Marx doctrine, which the president called the gates of hell for the Albanians, is that same philosophical doctrine used by Enver Hoxha for 50 years to justify the dictatorship of the proletariat, the prohibition of freedom of speech, religion, travel, and opinion, and to support total expropriation and collectivization. It is the same doctrine that served as a theoretical basis for harassment and persecution, for prisons and concentration camps, and for the loathed class war that involved the murder, shooting and internment of thousands of Albanians. It is the same philosophy whose indoctrination created the cult of the foreign enemy, the class enemy, the enemy of the party, and the internal enemy, on whose basis brothers denounced brothers, wives denounced husbands, and children denounced parents. It is the same doctrine that divided the Albanians into "us and them," and into Titoites, kulaks, the bourgeoisie, revisionists, etc. This doctrine became the basis for Albania's separation from the Western world, plunging her into the deepest isolation she has ever known. Marx's doctrine inspired the devastation of religious institutions and of important cultural and national treasures, as well as the destruction of private property and human dignity.

To appeal to this doctrine is totally irresponsible and an absurd effort to justify a national tragedy, and the torture, violence, terror, poverty, wretchedness, isolation, and degradation that our country experienced. To place this doctrine in your program means to aim for a new isolation for Albania, to despise the Western roots of your civilization and your cultural values, and to blush for your children's future. To serve up to Albania today, alternatives based on the theory of Marx, means to offer the country up to the sworn enemy of the Albanians' democratic, human, and national values.

The president of the republic does not interfere in the programs of parties and does not exert pressure, but cannot fail to denounce the dangers posed to Albania by Marxism and all totalitarian ideologies. He would appreciate the removal of Marx from the program of the PS, which would represent the expiation of a major sin, and he calls on all members of the PS to show civil courage in this matter. He is convinced that this is the opinion and wish of the Albanian electorate that on 22 March 1992 voted against this philosophy, and also of hundreds and thousands of other citizens whom the fruits of democracy have persuaded of the danger and absurdity of this philosophy.

The spokesman also stressed that the president, although encouraging and appreciating as a genuinely positive stand the opposition and denunciation of the theory of Marx by some PS deputies and leaders, considers the claims that he has coordinated these opinions to be groundless fantasies and insinuations.

PS Head Defends Use of Marx

AU1109111095 Tirana GAZETA SHQIPTARE in Albanian 9 Sep 95 p 3

[Unattributed report: "Pellumbi: 'Marx Is Not an Anachronistic Philosopher'"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Tirana—"Marx as a philosopher cannot be called anachronistic or a devil, as President Berisha has done, because his philosophy includes ideas that make him contemporary," said Servet Pellumbi, deputy chairman of the Socialist Party [PS], only one day after Berisha's appeal issued to "anti-Marxists in the PS." "This appeal was made for definite political ends," he said in a relatively long interview broadcast yesterday evening by the radio and television in their main evening newscasts. Pellumbi did not exclude the possibility of retaining Marx to preserve party members or voters who still maintain spiritual links to the name of the German philosopher.

"I make a distinction between Marx's ideological concepts and his philosophical ideas," Pellumbi said yesterday. He had earlier mentioned a series of Marxist concepts, which he said that time had rendered obsolete. The PS deputy chairman repeated his idea that "The PS has a broad ideological base and includes freedom of choice." "Being a PS member," he added, "does not inevitably mean being a Marxist."

The debate between Berisha and the Socialists over the role of Marx in the PS manifesto was "rekindled" immediately after the publication of reports claiming that the PS had finally decided to remove the philosopher's name from its program. Following these reports, Berisha drafted his appeal to "anti-Marxist Socialists," to which Pellumbi replied one day later. Thus Marx remains embedded in the manifesto of the largest opposition party, despite the heated discussion surrounding him.

Opposition Representatives Visit 'Besieged' Brozi

AU0909145095 Tirana KOHA JONE in Albanian 8 Sep 95 p 3

[Article by Arben Vata: "Representatives of Political Parties Meet Brozi—They Guarantee Their Support"]

[FBIS Translated Text] The first to visit the besieged chairman of the Court of Cassation, Zef Brozi, were seven representatives of political parties, the Socialist Party, the Democratic Alliance, the Social Democratic Party, the Democratic Party of the Right, and the National Unity Party; Azem Hajdari, chairman of the Commission for Defense, Public Order, and the National Intelligence Service; and a group of Democratic Party deputies, who paid a solidarity visit to the Court of Cassation between 0900 and 1100.

After spending the night in his office, Mr. Brozi tried to explain the entire situation that led the day before yesterday to the police encirclement of the Court of Cassation and enlarged on how the obstruction of the court's work and the use of force against its members constitute in themselves breaches of the law.

"The action of the police forces in surrounding the Court of Cassation and obstructing its activities is in itself a contravention of the law. The police who received the order to encircle the building have no right to enter its premises without the permission of the chairman of the court, and still less to use violence to obstruct the normal work of the court administration. Even if the order were a fair one, the opportunity should have been created for the staff to tie up affairs, in order not to obstruct the court's further work. However, the order issued by the justice minister without a rubber stamp is entirely illegal and beyond his authority. According to the Labor Code, the law creating the Justice Ministry, and the practice of the Court of Cassation during the last three years, the justice minister does not appoint a single member of the administration."

After expressing deep concern at the condition in which the rule of law finds itself, Brozi has sought the aid of parliament and an assurance of the immunity of judges, especially those of the Court of Cassation.

The representatives of parties and parliamentary groups taking part in the meeting, after expressing appreciation for Brozi's efforts to defend justice in Albania, stressed that they will demand in the very first parliamentary session that those responsible for issuing the order to besiege the court and obstruct its work should be called to account. They assured the chairman of the Court of Cassation of their support.

Namik Dokle called the efforts to subjugate the Court of Cassation typical actions of a police state, connected with the approach of the date when the court is to judge the Nano case. Right-wing leader Kalakulla has asked Mr. Hajdari to urgently convene the parliamentary commission of which he is chairman and to create a commission to analyze this tense situation in the Albanian justice system. All the representatives of the parties and parliamentary groups who attended the meeting support Kalakulla's proposal and unanimously call for the world public to be made aware of this serious situation for the rule of law and for justice in Albania.

'Totally United' for Brozi

AU0909144995 Tirana KOHA JONE in Albanian 8 Sep 95 p 3

[Article by Elio Elini: "The Brozi Case Enters the Embassies"]

[FBIS Translated Text] The parliamentary opposition parties yesterday morning renewed their joint political efforts to oppose the police siege of the Court of Cassation, imposed two days ago. It seems that the measures under orders given to the police have finally had a positive effect on the unity of the opposition. It seems that the persistent attacks by Berisha's regime on the Court of Cassation and its chairman Zef Brozi have finally led to a sort of solidarity among the Albanian parties. The Democratic Alliance [AD] welcomed at its headquarters yesterday morning the leaders of the political parties that seem now to best represent the Albanian opposition. Ceka of the AD, Dokle and Hajdaraga of the Socialist Party [PS], Apostoli of the Social Democratic Party [PSD], and Kalakulla of the Democratic Party of the Right [PDD] (who returned urgently from a meeting with party supporters in Korce), yesterday held a joint meeting at which they unanimously approved a memorandum stating that the siege of the Court of Cassation conflicts first of all with the democratic principle of the separation of powers, but also with the official commitments made by Albania on its admission to the Council of Europe. Later, following a program they approved, the sole resort of the opposition politicians was to be the embassies accredited to Tirana.

Opposition Expresses Alarm to Miku, Doyen of the Diplomatic Corps

At about 1130 [0930 GMT], the AD leader Ceka together with the Socialist Deputy Chairman Hajdaraga and the PDD Chairman Kalakulla met Romanian Ambassador Miku.

"The meeting with Romanian Ambassador Gheorghe Miku has a symbolic meaning, because Mr. Miku is dean of the diplomatic corps. The Albanian opposition parties thereby express their alarm at this situation to the entire diplomatic corps, whom they cannot meet individually," AD President Ceka told KOHA JONE immediately after meeting Miku, while implying that the most important meeting would be with Douglas Smith, first secretary of the U.S. Embassy.

"The Brozi Problem" Goes Beyond the Boundary of an Embassy

PS Deputy Chairman Dokle, after meeting the first secretary of the U.S. Embassy for 45 minutes, said, "Our report on recent events at the Court of Cassation was welcomed. The U.S. diplomats will follow with particular attention this issue, which arose as a result of efforts by Brozi and all his colleagues to defend the independence of the court that they represent." Dokle and his fellow politicians had explained to Smith the Albanian opposition's concern at the latest blow the political state had delivered to the judiciary through the police.

AD President Ceka said something similar, "Mr. Smith was very well informed, and implied that the Brozi problem goes beyond the boundary of an embassy, and affects the sensitivities of a country like the United States, where the judiciary is indeed sacred."

German Embassy Secretary Shares the Concern of the Albanian Opposition

At 1500 yesterday, the leaders of the Albanian opposition were inside the German Embassy, where they were welcomed by Mr. Zagorcki, the embassy's first secretary. PSD Chairman Gjinushi said that the secretary of the German Embassy shared and appreciated the concern of the Albanian opposition.

Meanwhile, according to Kalakulla, it was stressed to Zagorcki that the attack on the Court of Cassation was an incident with exceptionally damaging and dangerous consequences for the political climate in Albania, especially now when the country is heading toward new elections.

In the evening, these representatives also met the French ambassador, but we were unable to report this meeting for reasons of time.

Nevertheless, the Albanian opposition, regardless of the political barriers dividing it, is totally united as rarely before. PDD leader Kalakulla put it best when he said, "The opposition is united in its defense of the Court of Cassation and of justice."

Brozi Says Postponement of Nano Trial 'Illegal'

AU1109111295 Tirana KOHA JONE in Albanian 9 Sep 95 p 2

[Article by A. Peza: "Attempt To Postpone Nano Trial"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Yesterday did nothing to alleviate the Court of Cassation's woes. After the encirclement of the court's building by large police forces three days ago, the suspension of its normal work, and the dismissal of three of its staff, another serious step beyond all predictions was taken yesterday. According to sources inside the court, a group of judges from the court plenum is reported to have met, chaired by Mr. Avni Shehu, the deputy chairman of the Court of Cassation, who is rumored to be Brozi's most likely replacement. This meeting is reported to have decided to postpone until 20 September the "Nano trial," which was scheduled 10 days ago to take place on 12 September. This decision attributed to the "Court of Cassation," but without a signature or stamp, was posted yesterday afternoon on the notice board showing the timetable of trials. The telephone link with Brozi's office was also cut off for a few hours yesterday. The court is still guarded by pairs of policemen and the main entrance is under the continual surveillance of personnel of the ShIK [National Intelligence Service]

The chairman of the Court of Cassation, Zef Brozi, left the premises of the court for health reasons for about two hours yesterday afternoon. It was precisely during this period that Avni Shehu, the court's deputy chairman, assembled some members of the plenum and decided to postpone the date for the trial of imprisoned Socialist leader Fatos Nano. The trial was announced on the first of this month to take place next Tuesday, 12 September. Contrary to the usual practice, the notice announcing the postponement of the trial does not bear Brozi's signature and the court's seal. Lawyers say that the dates of trials can only be decided by the judge who will preside over the plenum on the day of the trial. Mr. Brozi is to preside over the trials held on 12 September. Thus, according to our laws, he alone has the right to decide or postpone the day.

It was learned afterward that the chairman of the Court of Cassation will summon all the judges on 11 September, with the aim of making it possible to hold the trial at Tuesday's plenum. He has called the decision to postpone the trial illegal and anticonstitutional.

Zhelev Rejects Yeltsin Stance on NATO Expansion

AU1109140295 Sofia Khorizont Radio Network in Bulgarian 1300 GMT 11 Sep 95

[FBIS Translated Text] The following is a statement by Valentin Stoyanov, spokesman for Bulgarian President Dr. Zhelyu Zhelev:

[Begin recording] Regarding Russian President Boris Yeltsin's statement at a news conference in Moscow that Russia will not allow NATO's expansion, Bulgarian President Zhelyu Zhelev declares that Bulgaria is an independent and sovereign state and as such it conducts an independent foreign policy that is subordinated solely to its own national interests. Bulgaria will not allow anyone—in east or west—to resolve issues that are related to its national security and sovereignty. Those issues can only be resolved by Bulgaria itself.

I remind you that President Zhelev was the first head of state to support Boris Yeltsin on 19 August 1991, when an attempt was made to organize a procommunist coup in Moscow against Mikhail Gorbachev.

President Zhelev has repeatedly expressed his support for the Russian president, because, for him, Yeltsin is a symbol and champion of Russia's democratic changes. For us, Russia is an entity that has more than one facet. In Russia there are many political forces—from the radical left to the radical right. Bulgaria has supported and will support those changes in Russia that will turn the country into a modern and democratic country. [end recording]

Ships Allegedly Delivering Naphtha to Serbia

AU0809124995 Sofia 24 CHASA in Bulgarian 6 Sep 95 p 6

[Unattributed report: "Are Our Ships Secretly Delivering Naphtha to Serbia?"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Well-informed police sources have told 24 CHASA that Bulgarian tour ships are illegally delivering naphtha to embargoed Serbian ports on the Danube. Recently our ships have been making more frequent smuggling trips, and there is a risk of an international row breaking out. The Interior Ministry special services have reportedly already detected a number of cases of trafficking in embargoed goods along the Danube. The sources claim that special teams are being formed to track down the lawbreakers. The tourist business along the Danube to Serbia started in 1994, after the Bulgarian authorities stopped car drivers from taking canisters of gasoline to Serbia. In 1995 at least four small vessels set off from the port of Lom at a fee of 20-30 German marks per trip.

At least three times a week, our traveling salesmen, mostly jobless Gypsies, fill the cabins and holds with goods of all sizes and sell them in shady deals in Serbian street markets. The informed sources allege that their trips are merely a cover for bigger illegal business. The ships allegedly fill up additional tanks, their water systems, and waste discharge installations with fuel. Most often, the naphtha is secretly discharged at night in the Serbian port of Prahovo or transferred to Serbian vessels. The sources say that on average 5 to 10 metric tons of naphtha finds its way into Serbia on each trip.

The flourishing business that has developed is now threatened with collapse. Around Easter it became known that a ship belonging to Bobbi Bets had secretly taken a full cargo of naphtha to Prahovo. A month ago, a Bulgarian barge was detected carrying 21 barrels concealed in a cargo of waste paper. The police have started forming special detachments of customs officers and police to put a stop to the shady business.

Yesterday the Bulgarian River Navigation issued an order prohibiting the leasing of its vessels. The contracts already signed with lessees have been dissolved on the grounds that the latter failed to effect their monthly payments. However, informed sources claim that the real reason is that the police have started making inquiries.

Havel Welcomes Opening of RFE HQ in Prague

LD1009141295 Prague Radiozurnal Radio Network in Czech 1215 GMT 10 Sep 95

[Regular weekly interview with Czech President Vlaclav Havel by correspondent Robert Tamchyna at Lany on 10 September—live or recorded]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] [Tamchyna] Mr. President, on Friday you took part in the official opening of the Radio Free Europe [RFE] headquarters, which had moved from Munich to Prague. How important was this meeting for you?

[Havel] I have to admit I attach great importance to this event. Let me begin on a personal level.

I personally had a lot to do with Radio Free Europe for a long time. During the communist era, RFE was the only or the main radio station on which I could address my compatriots and that gave publicity to the whole opposition movement in our country. In the communist era, the newspapers wrote that I was being manipulated by Radio Free Europe. Some RFE editors thought the opposite and believed that I was manipulating RFE when I was giving them advice on which of our various documents and statements they should broadcast on which of their programs. However, more important was the very fact that RFE was a station that, throughout many decades, continued to broadcast objective, well-researched, and professionally written reports. In those times of informational blockade, we really had no way of knowing what was happening in the world. RFE was the voice of freedom and democratic values. Therefore, I was quite moved by being present at the opening of the RFE headquarters in Prague.

The existence of RFE is justified even after the fall of communism and after the end of the Cold War. RFE broadcasts to many countries in Europe and Asia, and there still are countries where human rights are violated and where democracy is not yet well developed. The broadcasts are extremely important for these countries.

However, the most important is probably the fact of RFE's move to our country. It is a great expression of trust in the Czech Republic. To some extent, Prague will become a symbol and a token of the message of freedom being spread in the world. That is a clear statement of the fact that we belong in the world of Western democracy and in this civilization because we were honored by RFE having its main headquarters here in Prague.

[Tamchyna] Mr. President, the Month of Bosnia-Herzegovina will open in the Czech Republic next week [beginning 11 September]. It is a cultural-political event taking place under your auspices. Today's interview could offer a good opportunity for a brief contemplation on the eve of this event.

[Havel] [Passage omitted] In my view, the raison d'etre of this event is the opportunity for us to express our solidarity with those who want to live in peace and civil coexistence regardless of their nationality or religion. Such people still form a majority in Bosnia-Herzegovina. They form the power that, unfortunately, is not represented at international talks because those are usually held with those who fight or who are armed. [passage omitted]

Article Evaluates U.S. Offer of F-18 Aircraft

AU1109115295 Prague MLADA FRONTA DNES in Czech 4 Sep 95 p 7

[Article by Jan Gazdik and Jaroslav Kmenta: "Purchasing the F-18 Aircraft Would Bring Advantages and Disadvantages"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Prague—If the Czech Army were to accede to the recent offer from the United States and purchase from it modern F-18 A fighter-bomber aircraft, it would bring to the Republic not only advantages but also—evidently—difficulties.

The purchase of these state-of-the-art aircraft could, according to arms policy experts, upset the military balance in Central Europe. An aviation expert who asked us not to publish his name has said that the F-18's are fighter-bomber attack aircraft that neighboring states do not have.

"The Slovaks could then counter the Czech F-18 with the Russian equivalent, the Su-27," he conjectures. He thinks that this could set off an arming spiral similar to the one following the Chinese purchase of Russian Su-27 aircraft. Vietnam reacted to this out of concern and took a similar step. Thailand, in turn, was concerned about Vietnam arming itself and responded by purchasing the U.S. F-15 Eagle state-of-the-art aircraft.

The F-18 A aircraft are also too expensive. For example, Spain is considering getting older F-18's at a price of $12 million per aircraft. The aircraft's air-to-air missile system alone, however, will come to another $2.5 million.

According to aviation experts, doubts also arise in connection with the maintenance and servicing network. No such network has been established for these aircraft in Europe, as opposed to the F-16 fighter aircraft.

A leading Czech expert considers the deliberations for the purchase of the F-18 multipurpose aircraft to be a normal U.S. offer within the framework of creating and expanding the arms market. "They are attempting this everywhere, not only in the Czech Republic," he said. According to him, the Americans have one of the most modern and technically newest air forces mainly because, by selling three "secondhand" aircraft, it always makes enough to purchase one of the most recent generation of aircraft. "Thus, among other things, they also adhere to the Stockholm agreement on arms reduction," he added.

Despite this, however, the F-18, along with the F-16 and the F-15, is one of the most efficient U.S. tactical aircraft. This supersonic fighter-bomber is intended mainly to destroy surface and ground targets using conventional and nuclear weapons. It takes off primarily from aircraft carriers.

The U.S. Navy began to acquire them in 1982. The aircraft is also among the armaments of the Australian, Spanish, and Canadian Air Forces.

Its quality has been put to the test most recently in the NATO operations in Bosnia; it was also used during the war in the Persian Gulf. In view of the fact that it was built for an aircraft carrier, a very small landing and take-off area is sufficient. To take off, it needs an area of just under 500 meters and to land an area of some 700 meters.

Three Arrested for Dealing in Plastic Explosives

LD0809153495 Prague Radiozurnal Radio Network in Czech 1400 GMT 8 Sep 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Three men suspected of illegal dealing in 30 kilograms of plastic explosives have been arrested by members of the organized crime investigation unit. Jan Subert, the Interior Ministry's press spokesman, said the three were detained and that one other person is being prosecuted.

One of the detained is a 25-year-old man who used to work as a policeman in a local police branch in Prague's 10th District; another is a 23-year-old businessman from Prague, whose activities used to involve arms sales.

The explosive seized is the American plastic explosive C4 [as heard], which is easy to misuse and which is much sought after by terrorists. According to the police, this is the first occurrence of the C4 explosive in the Czech Republic.

Economic Situation for First Half of 1995

AU0909142395 Prague HOSPODARSKE NOVINY in Czech 5 Sep 95 p 7

[The second and last installment of the report by "vac," "based on documents from the Czech National Bank, Czech Statistical Office, Finance Ministry, and Industry and Trade Ministry": "The Trade Deficit Continued To Grow Throughout the First Half; The Economic Situation in the Czech Republic"]

[FBIS Translated Text] The overall development in foreign trade that began last year continued to worsen in the first half of this year. Although the growth of exports declined only to 6.4 percent, imports increased by 32.4 percent. This further and significantly augmented the trade deficit. While the trade deficit for the entire last year reached 20.6 billion korunas [Kc], it amounted to Kc46.9 billion in six months of this year. The relatively slow growth of exports (physical volume of exports stagnates because prices of exports rose by approximately 5 percent) has been affected by the gradual reduction of the comparative advantages resulting from the exchange rate of the koruna and, at the same time, lower wage cost in comparison with the countries with a developed market economy.

The structure of exports does not correspond to the potential, and especially to the desirable, structure of the Czech economy. Of the total volume of exports, the share of machine and equipment exports was only 26 percent and finished industrial products 12 percent in the first half, while the share of semifinished products reached 33 percent and chemical products 14 percent. In imports, the share of machines and vehicles rose to 35 percent, semifinished products to 18 percent, and chemical products to 14 percent. The trade deficit could no longer be made up by the surplus in exports of services (tourism and transport). In the first quarter, the deficit on the balance of payments current account amounted to $217 million, and it will probably further increase in the second quarter. The large surplus on the balance of payments capital account, resulting from the aforementioned influx of foreign capital, leads to a solid surplus in the summary balance of payments.

Production Growth

Industrial and construction output is this year characterized by marked growth. It was, above all, the small enterprises with fewer than 100 employees that contributed to the 7.7-percent growth of industrial production in comparison with the first half of 1994. The structure of industrial output partly improved, but the foreign trade results demonstrate that it still is far from corresponding to the needs of a smooth economic development.

In construction output, given the relatively high demand for construction work, the construction output index continued in the fast growth of last year. The increase of 7.6 percent for the first half in comparison with the same period last year testifies to an increased investment activity. The volume of material investment rose by

22 percent in the first quarter. The pace probably was lower in the second quarter, but, even so, for the entire half it will remain a promise for technical and commodity restructuring of the economy. The direct foreign investments for the first half reached $402.5 million (Kc10.7 billion), and their total on 30 June 1995 amounted to $3.714 billion (without the SPT Telecom investment), i.e., Kc97 billion.

Agricultural output continues to gradually conform to the demand on the domestic market and is characterized by a slower decline or stagnation. In the animal-production sector, the tendency continued toward a decline in marketing of slaughter animals and poultry in general, milk and eggs, while the sale receipts increased as a result of increased producer prices. Agricultural plants harvest estimates indicate a relatively higher increase (4 and more percent overall) in cereals, potatoes, and oil-bearing crops.

Standard of Living

The social sphere was characterized by a growth in the standard of living with an as-expected increasing differentiation between the social groups of population. That is demonstrated, for instance, by an increase of 3.1 percent in retail sales in the first six months of this year in comparison with the same period last year. Household real income rose, according to estimates, by some 5 to 7 percent, while the average nominal wages rose by approximately 15 percent and consumer prices by 10 percent.

The striking dynamics of the economy was also reflected on the labor market. The number of gainfully employed increased by 50,000 in comparison with the state a year earlier, and the number of registered unemployed declined to 144,000, i.e., by 19,000 in comparison with a year earlier. At the same time, the number of vacant jobs registered at labor offices reached 99,000. Social peace could be maintained in spite of the emphatic demands for increased average wages in railroad transport, health care, and education. The drop in housing construction continues.

Conclusions

Despite the focus of the analysis on only the main facts and relations, it can be observed that the overall improvement in the economy continued. This is evidenced in the GDP growth and increased investment activity as well as in the rising standard of living. Nevertheless, some undesirable tendencies and problems also continued. One of these is the still too high and unrelenting inflation, further enhanced by the high influx of short-term foreign capital that cannot be used for industry restructuring. The growing foreign trade deficit demonstrates that the changes in the secondary and partly also in the tertiary spheres progress slowly. Despite the growth in labor productivity, its quality and insufficient implementation of results of scientific and research work in comparison with economically advanced states lead to a low competitiveness and are among the main reasons for the meager penetration of the markets of these countries.

Meciar on Meeting With Hungarian Prime Minister

LD0809201895 Bratislava STV 2 Television Network in Slovak 1118 GMT 8 Sep 95

[Parliament address by Slovak Prime Minister Vladimir Meciar, introduced by Parliament Speaker Ivan Gasparovic—live]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] [Gasparovic] Esteemed deputies, we will resume the Ninth Session of the Slovak Parliament according to the program agreed upon on 6 September. Subsequent to the deputies' proposal, Slovak Prime Minister Vladimir Meciar will inform the house on the results of his meeting with Hungarian Prime Minister Gyula Horn. Prime Minister, would you please come up.

[Meciar] Esteemed Parliament chairman, esteemed ladies and gentlemen! Thank you for your interest in the results of my talks with Prime Minister Horn in the High Tatras [on 29, 30 August].

My meeting with Prime Minister Horn followed our previous talks, which moved Slovak-Hungarian relations a great deal forward. These relations are aiming at historical reconciliation while forming a new basis for mutual cooperation so that it complies with the European trends of development. We want to create positive Slovak-Hungarian relations in order to fulfill one of the conditions that would bring us closer to the implementation of essential integrational changes and processes. Within our good relations, we want to solve the bilateral, as well as the multilateral, issues that are related to the whole situation in Europe.

We have to get used to the fact that the working contacts of this kind will be more frequent. We have agreed with Prime Minister Horn that we will be meeting periodically in either Slovakia or Hungary. I appreciate Prime Minister Horn as a politician who is sincerely interested in improving mutual relations, a politician keen on Slovakia and Hungary moving together toward the European Union and joining the process of integration. Another aspect that makes Prime Minister Horn so special is that he sees much further and works with a time perspective longer than one parliamentary term.

The meeting primarily dealt with bilateral issues that were debated by the Slovak National Council. The foreign minister has given the first information to the Foreign Affairs Committee of the Slovak Parliament. We issued no communique or statement after the meeting in the Tatras because the governments are coalition governments, while the essential issues, which require the support of parliament, must be discussed with the coalition partners first and only afterward can we make the content of the talks public.

We consider the Gabcikovo-Nagymaros hydroelectric project to be one of the most important bilateral issues. This project has two parts but only one agreement. With the approval of both parliaments, the court case regarding this matter is taking place in The Hague, where the third complaint has been filed.

On the grounds of the agreement signed in Budapest, water-regulating measures have been implemented. The steps taken by the Hungarian side have brought about a positive ecological effect; although it has not been talked about very much, when the effects were negative there was much more talking. Nowadays, the water regime is such that the fundamental objection that used to be applied at the court in The Hague—the principle of environmental danger—has been dented. The court case in The Hague will continue. Neither side has changed anything about its position. However, we are coming to realize that it would be reasonable to try to settle the matter out of court for the benefit of stronger mutual trust between the two states, better cooperation between our people, and a more positive signal to the international community.

For this reason, the first meeting between the representatives of the two governments took place in Bratislava recently. It was an informal meeting in which the realm of problems was discussed. Problems were identified, and now we can look for solutions. It will not be a simple matter because the initial positions of the two parties are substantially different. However, if the possibility to settle this issue by an agreement arises, we would prefer that agreement to a court verdict. If no agreement is reached, the court case will continue unaffected by these talks.

We also discussed economic cooperation based chiefly on joint economic interests. We agreed that bankers, businessmen, representatives of industrial associations, and officials from the Ministries of Privatization, Economy, Finance, and Industry would meet in September 1995 to discuss feasible privatization projects for both Slovakia and Hungary. This will involve several outstanding projects, such as the East Slovak Ironworks [Vychodoslovenske zeleziarne], Slovnaft [oil refinery], and the Aluminum Works [Hlinikaren] in Ziar nad Hronom.

When assessing our economic relations, we noted that Slovak exports to Hungary had increased, despite the fact that Hungary had a negative balance of payments. In this respect, Prime Minister Horn asked for help. I reacted by telling him that this was exactly the chance for ethnic Hungarians in Slovakia, who could help by deploying their knowledge of the Hungarian language and culture so that the Hungarian goods find an easier way to Slovakia.

A special project, which is to be discussed by economy ministers and state secretaries, concerns mining bauxite and processing aluminum based on Hungarian mineral resources. A new project is nowadays being implemented in Ziar and Hronom and a lot of technical and economic issues will have to be resolved.

We also debated relations within a wider context. Primarily, we discussed relations with the European Union. It is a well-known fact that there are several projects of relations with the EU. We are interested in the project proposed by German Chancellor Kohl. This project foresees that our admission [to the EU] or at least serious talks on our admission should take place before the year 2000. There is also another project that, independently of political and economic reasons, outlines the EU capacity to withstand the economic strain of admitting countries with a lower production level and less developed infrastructure. This project presupposes a delay of 15 years. That is why we carefully discussed what our countries had to do and how we were to cooperate with Poland and the Czech Republic so that we remain realistic about the needs, the resources, and the trends of our countries.

During my talks with Prime Minister Horn, I also suggested extending the Central European Free Trade Association [CEFTA] by admitting Slovenia, Bulgaria, and Romania, and later the Baltic states. This would help to promote consensus in Europe. I also mentioned my proposal to organize a conference of the countries associated with the EU. At this point, our views differed a little. The Hungarian side would prefer a meeting of the Visegrad Group; I would prefer a meeting of all countries associated with the EU. We will talk about it again in Brno [south Moravia, where the CEFTA meeting takes place] on 11 September. [passage omitted]

Among the political issues we discussed was the future of the Central European Initiative [CEI], especially in view of the forthcoming CEI meeting in Warsaw. We dealt with the situation in former Yugoslavia, especially Vojvodina, and, in view of the recent incidents, the measures taken by the Hungarian Government aimed at protecting its borders.

We also discussed the position of ethnic minorities. Prime Minister Horn was interested to learn about the Slovak law on the state language. He wanted to know how the law will be worded and whether it will conform to European norms. I said that, before the bill on state language is presented to the National Council, it will be consulted on with the Council of Europe so that it becomes a norm giving European standard guarantees in the observance of language rights. The consultation will also be proof that the law is not aimed against the language rights of minorities.

At the same time, I told Mr. Horn that I would propose that the political parties representing the Hungarian minority in parliament be given an opportunity to familiarize themselves with this law before it is put to the government for debate so that they could take a stance on it. This is especially important because, according to Deputy Prime Minister Tothova, there are several false versions of the bill that have never been produced as a working document and that are being presented as the Slovak Government's proposal.

We then returned to the debate on the position of the Slovak minority in Hungary. I demanded that a program of the revitalization of the Slovak minority in Hungary be adopted. I asked to be briefed on how the demands handed to the Hungarian Government by the Slovak minority at a government meeting with minorities are being met. We agreed that Mr. Horn would brief me on this issue at a [CEFTA] meeting on 11 September in Brno. He agreed to brief me on both the content of the demands and the response to them. We assessed the Slovak-Hungarian basic treaty very positively, saying that, even before its ratification in the National Council, it had enormous weight in assessing the willingness and the ability of the two countries to resolve disputed matters on the basis of an agreement. I told Mr. Horn that I intended to present the treaty to parliament for ratification at the November parliamentary session. The ratification is our internal matter.

We briefly discussed the course of the ratification in the Hungarian parliament. Our talks with Mr. Horn were very matter-of-fact, very open. The word "friendly" is sometimes used in similar situations. In this case, it is not a cliche. Demonstrations of personal sympathy and of friendly, mutual trust were really present on both sides in an effort to support one another in order to resolve the situation soon.

Historic projects, concerning immediately Central Europe as a whole as well as our country, will be prepared in the near future. We often say that there is a problem that rests with a particular politician, person, or parties. In my view, the reality is different. The problem rests with the global solution of which we are a component part and from which nobody is excluding us, nor is anybody pulling us into it by force. We are part of that global solution. However, for that global solution to succeed, there will need to be positive signals on the development in our country from those who are to admit us into integration blocs. Moreover, it is necessary to show that this process will also be beneficial to the countries with which we want to become integrated. [passage omitted]

We consider the European integration process to be irreversible. In cooperation with the neighboring countries and on the basis of the fundamental improvement in our relations with Hungary, Slovakia makes stronger its position in the debate on European integration. Our talks with Mr. Horn have been assisted in achieving these goals, and I think that we will continue such working contacts with Mr. Horn in the future in a very intensive way. I think they will no longer be so unusual. [passage omitted]

Further on Meeting

LD0809221195 Bratislava Rozhlasova Stanica Slovensko Network in Slovak 1600 GMT 8 Sep 95

[Regular weekly interview with Slovak Prime Minister Vladimir Meciar by correspondent Zuzana Stukovska on 8 September; place not given—recorded]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] [Passage omitted] [Stukovska] Was your meeting with Hungarian Prime Minister Gyula Horn in the Tatras [29, 30 September] in any way connected with the ratification of the Slovak-Hungarian basic treaty? It came as a surprise when Ivan Gasparovic, chairman of the Slovak parliament, said that he could not include the debate on this treaty in the program of the September parliamentary session because the treaty had not been made available to him. You personally said on several occasions that the treaty would be ratified. Why has the government not made the treaty available to parliament yet?

[Meciar] Every ratification is, in its way, an important act of international law and international politics. It can cause a variety of responses within the country, and, therefore, it is an important internal affair as well.

Before the ratification, I would like to find a consensus with other political parties, which would guarantee that the treaty enjoy wider social support both within and outside the coalition.

So far, as you know, the social situation has not enabled us to focus on this issue. Everybody has waited to see what will happen after the president's speech, whether there is an earthquake or what. The Slovak Government authorized me to pass the treaty onto the Slovak parliament after I achieved a political agreement with other political parties. During the summer vacation, this was difficult.

Earlier this year we approved a framework agreement, which is the foundation of the basic treaty. As I announced today, the time had come for me to present the Slovak-Hungarian treaty for ratification at the November session of the Slovak Parliament. [passage omitted]

The important aspect of our foreign policy is that Slovakia has not only been accepted into the international community but also been recognized as a very active member of the Central European political scene. Moreover, if we did not have our petty domestic fights and nonsensical quarrels, as we do, I would be prepared to say that Slovakia could soon be the center of the political, cultural, and social life of the whole Central Europe. We are on the brink of achieving this goal. Nothing can spoil it. [passage omitted]

[Stukovska] Recently, foreign newspapers have been writing about Slovakia in a very unflattering fashion. What chance is there for various advice suggesting what has to be done to bring about some positive changes? Is any change possible without the cooperation between the constitutional bodies—that is between the president, the prime minister, and the parliament speaker?

[Meciar] This is not a recent problem. You remember the upheaval caused by Slovak President Kovac's speech in the United States [on 8 August]. Later on, it became apparent that what he had said to Slovak radio was not quite so. It was rather stunning.

We have to accept the premise that state officials have to put their personal feelings aside. If they cannot manage that, they are in the wrong job. We have to distinguish between personal feeling and the post held.

My cooperation with Ivan Gasparovic is very good. We meet regularly, we discuss all essential issues, we meet whenever possible, we keep in contact, we meet often and talk about things. If the president thinks something does not go the way he wants, I have to ask: Does the Slovak parliament breach the Constitution in relation to him, does the government breach the Constitution? If not, there is nothing to talk about.

We all have our constitutional rights and duties; this is our action radius. Slovakia can have only one center of executive power, one center of jurisdical power. There cannot be any other center of power and cooperation. Any trends of this kind would not be good. [passage omitted]

Minister Sitek Receives German Defense Official

LD0809204095 Bratislava Rozhlasova Stanica Slovensko Network in Slovak 1000 GMT 8 Sep 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Slovak Defense Minister Jan Sitek has received Joerg Schoenbohm, state secretary at the German Defense Ministry, who is on a two-day official visit to Slovakia. Defense Ministry spokesman Frantisek Kasicky reports on the meeting that took place at the Slovak Defense Ministry today:

[Begin Kasicky recording] Sitek and Schoenbohm discussed the basic aspects of the defense policies of the Slovak Republic and the Federal Republic of Germany, Slovakia's activity regarding integration into West European and transatlantic security structures, the Slovak Army's role in the Partnership for Peace program, and topical issues of the development of bilateral cooperation.

Sitek acquainted the guest with the current transformation of the Slovak Republic Army and the system of its supervision by nonarmy organizations. He also thanked the German side for assistance regarding the Slovak Army's technological equipment and the education of military professionals.

In this context, Schoenbohm said that mutual cooperation should culminate in a joint military exercise next year. Sitek noted that he could see no problem here because a similar exercise was recently held in the west Slovak town of Trencin. [end recording]

Schenk Reiterates Views on Nuclear Testing

LD0809191595 Bratislava VTV Television in Slovak 1800 GMT 8 Sep 95

[FBIS Translated Text] In view of the incessant protests against French nuclear tests, we asked Foreign Minister Juraj Schenk about Slovakia's position on this issue.

[Begin Schenk recording] The most important fact is that we deplore the continuation of nuclear tests. We subscribe to our interest and full conviction that it is inevitable to stop all nuclear tests. We stress that we fully subscribe to our signing of the Nuclear Nonproliferation Treaty, and we express our conviction that the treaty on nuclear test bans will be signed in the fall of next year at the latest. We believe that the so-called zero variant or zero level, disregarding the strength of a nuclear test, will be approved, thus introducing a universal ban. [end recording]

Chemical Weapons Convention, Treaties Approved

LD0809162695 Bratislava Rozhlasova Stanica Slovensko Network in Slovak 1000 GMT 8 Sep 95

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] During the course of their first two days in session, deputies to the National Council dealt with 14 of the 43 points on the agenda. After yesterday afternoon's solo performance in parliament by Sergej Kozlik, deputy prime minister and finance minister, the first to put his material before the house this morning was Foreign Minister Juraj Schenk. Our parliamentary correspondents Magda Pospisilova and Ludmila Bulakova will tell us about the content of this and other documents that were debated:

[Correspondent] Today's session began with a vote on the convention banning the development, manufacture, stockpiling, and use of chemical weapons and dealing with their destruction. The text of the document was approved by the Geneva disarmament conference in 1992, and this is the first ever multilateral convention that bans a whole category of weapons of mass destruction under internationally guaranteed supervision. The deputies in the National Council approved it without debate.

Three further international treaties put before the house by Interior Minister Ludovit Hudek were approved equally smoothly. The first two concerned amending relations between Slovakia and Poland with reference to the common state border and cooperation along it.

Deputies also approved the Slovak-Hungarian treaty on the common state border. The need for the ratification of new international treaties arose from the new situation following the emergence of the independent Slovak Republic. The purpose of the new arrangements is to strengthen existing ties to neighboring countries in terms of guarding the state border, safeguarding border regulations, and controlling border traffic. All three of the above were so-called presidential treaties, which require the approval of the National Council before ratification. [passage omitted]

Ducky Comments on CEFTA Trade, Brno Talks

LD0809213395 Bratislava Rozhlasova Stanica Slovensko Network in Slovak 1630 GMT 8 Sep 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Slovakia's trade turnover with other Central European Free Trade Association [CEFTA] member states reached more than $3.7 billion in the first six months of this year; last year's figure was $5.2 billion.

Minister of Economy Jan Ducky said on the eve of the CEFTA meeting, which opens in Brno on 11 September, that Slovakia plays a very active role in this group and that the debate on CEFTA's expansion by including Slovenia is due to Slovakia's initiative. The present members of CEFTA are Slovakia, the Czech Republic, Hungary, and Poland.

Project for Dismantling Bohunice Plant Outlined

AU0809145195 Bratislava SLOVENSKA REPUBLIKA in Slovak 2 Sep 95 p 5

[Unattributed report: "Dismantling the Jaslovske Bohunice A-1 Nuclear Power Plant"]

[FBIS Translated Text] The Economy Ministry has submitted a report on the state of work on dismantling the Jaslovske Bohunice A-1 nuclear power plant for the period from 1 January to 30 June 1995. The government has discussed the report and made note of it. The Cabinet has approved a timetable for bringing the A-1 plant to a radiationally safe state. Under the preconditions contained in this project, it will be possible to achieve a radiationally safe state in about 2007. This will require expenditure of more than 4 billion korunas.

What About the Spent Fuel?

By the end of March 1997, INMART Atom Martin will provide a long-term storage facility for the fuel elements placed in long-term storage capsules.

In accordance with the protocol on cooperation in the nuclear energy sphere concluded between the Slovak Republic and the Russian Federation in February, our partner will transport the spent nuclear fuel—more precisely, 132 fuel elements—from the A-1 nuclear power plant. Part of the project also involves a new drainage facility that will be built within the framework of the reconstruction of the equipment for processing the fuel. Technology for disposing of the spent fuel is also being taken into consideration as an alternative solution in the event it is impossible to transfer the fuel elements to the Russian Federation.

The construction of the Bohunice radioactive waste processing center, which should be ready by the end of this year, will contribute to environmental protection.

The project for bringing the A-1 plant to a radiationally safe state will require a considerable amount of money. The money will be provided from the state budget, and 10 percent of it will come from the selling price of the electricity produced in the nuclear power plant. An independent organization, as a subsidiary shareholding company of Slovak Nuclear Power Plants operating nationwide, will see to the processing, treatment, and handling of the radioactive waste and will take the nuclear power plant out of operation.

Geneva Planted 'Roots' of Greater Serbia, Croatia

AU1109135495 Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP in Hungarian 11 Sep 95 p 7

[Editorial by Edit Melykuti Nagy: "The Balkans' 'Geneva Ghost'"]

[FBIS Translated Text] The latest peacekeeping talks of the main protagonists in the Yugoslav crisis were surprisingly short; the fact that the talks ended with general satisfaction is even more surprising. Although with cautious optimism, mediator Richard Holbrooke announced with visible satisfaction that the Yugoslav, Croatian, and Bosnian foreign ministers had accepted the basic conditions of restoring peace.

We should be glad that, after several years of diplomatic wranglings, the great powers have forced an acceptance from all three parties. However, the surprisingly tough stand of the international community served more the interests of the great powers, rather than the interests of the Bosnian people. Elections in Russia are approaching rapidly and Clinton can silence the critics of his Yugoslav policy with this agreement. The international community can also regain something of the credibility that it has completely lost in the four years of the Yugoslav War.

With its horrible contradictions, the agreement worked out by the Americans will be a source of further conflicts. It made no difference that Alija Izetbegovic confidently declared that Bosnia's sovereignty was guaranteed; his state was actually divided into two in Geneva. The current Bosnia-Herzegovina ceased to exist with the official recognition of the Serb Republic and the Serbs have hastened to interpret the agreement as a step toward a confederation of people living on both sides of the Drina River.

The uniform and multicultural Bosnia was finally swept off the negotiating table on 8 September and the roots of a Greater Serbia and Greater Croatia were planted there. As for the Muslims, they can live as a decorative ethnic group in a country currently fulfilling its desires of national state.

Peace in the Balkans is still far away.

Kovacs Reacts With 'Caution' to Geneva Agreement

LD0909113495 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 1000 GMT 9 Sep 95

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Hungarian Foreign Minister Laszlo Kovacs also considers the Geneva peace agreement over the Yugoslav crisis significant, but his advice is to be cautious for the time being. Laszlo Gardai phoned the foreign minister:

[Begin Kovacs recording] Considering the history of the crisis and the countless unsuccessful attempts for settlement and unkept agreements, I think it is worth assessing this undoubtedly significant result with some caution. This is an important step which means a start toward the final settlement. I consider that one of the greatest advantages of the agreement is that it was reached among the leaders of the three countries concerned, since we never believed that a separate Bosnian-Serb or Croat-Serb agreement could have worked in this issue.

However, there are a great many questions of detail that are still unclear and it remains to be seen whether during the clarification of these details, new opposition emerges that will turn the whole agreement upside down. On the whole, I am hopeful. [end recording] [passage omitted]

Backs NATO Membership

AU1109124995 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 9 Sep 95 p 2

[Unattributed report: "Yeltsin Criticized NATO, Kovacs Stood by Membership"]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Boris Yeltsin has threatened the establishment of a new military alliance if NATO is extended and has again demanded the halting of Bosnian air attacks. [passage omitted]

In connection with Yeltsin's statement, Hungarian Foreign Minister Laszlo Kovacs told NEPSZABADSAG: According to the Hungarian Government's understanding, NATO's extension to include Central European countries would strengthen the region's stability. This firm belief guides Hungary in its intention to join NATO. Hungary's possible NATO membership does not threaten the security of any country, not even that of Russia. On Yeltsin's statement on the NATO air strikes, Kovacs noted that the bombings were directed against the Bosnian Serb military forces, which oppose the settlement process, and their military equipment, rather than against a country and especially not against the civilian population. [passage omitted]

Keleti: Money Available for Army Modernization

LD0909222495 Budapest Duna TV in Hungarian 1900 GMT 9 Sep 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Defense Minister Gyorgy Keleti has inspected the swearing-in ceremony of the new recruits of the Miklos Zrinyi Artillery Brigade of Pecs and the Baranya Reconnaissance Battalion.

[Correspondent] It is no coincidence that the defense minister, accompanied by the commander of the ground forces, visited the Hungarian Army barrack that is situated closest to the border with Croatia. Naturally, the security of the region was one of the focal points of the subsequently held news conference.

[Begin Keleti recording] Nobody here is preparing for an act of aggression against Hungary. What we are concerned about are the phenomena that accompany an armed conflict fought close to our borders and that could be dangerous for us. It is these phenomena that we will prevent from occurring with all means available, both in the air and on the ground. [end recording]

[Correspondent] The defense minister also said that he had recently received a letter from the Serb chief of staff who agreed with the strengthening of the Hungarian border patrol forces.

Reacting to accusations by opposition parliamentary deputies, the defense minister said that the professional soldiers of the Hungarian Army did not face threats of dismissal—at the most, they might be redeployed. He also said that the 80 billion forints necessary for the modernization of the army was available.

Horn, Peto Interviewed on Future of Coalition

LD1009225795 Budapest MTV Television Network in Hungarian 1700 GMT 10 Sep 95

[Studio interview with Gyula Horn, prime minister and leader of the Hungarian Socialist Party, and Ivan Peto, chairman of the Alliance of Free Democrats, by an unidentified correspondent; from "The Week" program—live]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] [Correspondent] Prime Minister Gyula Horn, chairman of the Hungarian Socialist Party [MSZP], and Ivan Peto, chairman of the Alliance of Free Democrats [SZDSZ] are in the studio of "The Week." Good evening, Mr. Chairmen. Many people will have seen that there were rather fierce coalition disputes over the past weeks—an agreement was reached this Tuesday. What preceded this agreement, and how did the situation reach this point?

[Horn] Debate and reflection, in the sense that this government has been in office for over a year. The 12 months have yielded many lessons, first and foremost, that this government must deal with very many concrete issues, with industry branches and hundreds of factories. I would like to point out that this government does not constantly mention the economic legacy that is very grave, no matter where we look.

Finally, I have never shied away from admitting weaknesses in the government. We are not the prisoners of power. I should like to underline this, because if a government is able to assess its activity critically and self-critically, it can draw lessons from this, and this is what happened in the summer.

[Peto] [Passage omitted] We agree that we should look ahead, we should now deal with the government's aims. We agree that we are not satisfied with our performance. Everything must be done so that the performance improves.

We also agree that the main task is to sort out the country's economy. The main task concerning coordination between the two parties does not have to do with positions or public debate over plans, but rather the economy, and how prosperity and well-being can be created in this country. We are trying to create the conditions for this, now that we have resolved the dispute.

[Correspondent] Mr. Prime Minister, does this mean that you have abandoned the government restructuring plans that were made public earlier, or is this not true, yet...

[Horn, interrupting] Look, on Tuesday [5 September] we agreed to set up working groups that will conduct coordination within a set time limit. One group deals with issues concerning government structure—including ways of strengthening economic policy and conducting concrete affairs, and for example, ensuring that coordination between the economic ministries accelerate the implementation of decisions.

This, in my view, is why some organizational change is necessary. The SZDSZ has shown itself to be open to this, within the framework of the agreement. We entrust the rest to the working groups, and then the coalition coordinating council and the two parties' leading bodies will discuss these proposals. [passage omitted]

[Correspondent] What are the concrete issues over which the working groups must reach agreement by the deadline? [passage omitted]

[Horn] One is that we agreed—at least we set it is an objective—that we should like to give our assent to all these issues by the 20th [month not specified]. By this, I mean not only the possible (?structural) changes, but the norms that ought to be incorporated in the first two sections of the coalition agreement.

[Correspondent] And personnel issues?

[Horn] As regards personnel issues, whether we are speaking of ministers or a minister, we naturally will consult over this, as we did earlier.

To be more concrete: The issue at hand is that this government has the firm resolve, as Ivan Peto has said, to sort out the country's economy. At the same time, it is also necessary to consider that, while we adhere to this economic policy, we must do something concerning the fact that there are big losers in the process of developing the market economy. This applies not only to Hungary, but to the entire region. It is extremely difficult for the representative of a left-wing government, such as yours truly and others in the MSZP, to face the prospect of not being able—over a relatively long period, two, three, or four years—to ensure significant improvement in the lives of those who are pensioners or young people, or others.

So my opinion is that very many things must be thought through, while in the meantime, we adhere to this policy, this economic policy. The instruments of the government's economic policy must be enriched, expanded without, I emphasize, abandoning stabilization.

What the government has done, mainly since March, is highly recognized internationally. At the same time, what is formulated in a budget or any other bill is not a sufficient reply to very many people, even millions of people. My firm opinion is that the government's activity must be expanded, or it must be improved, precisely so that it can help those in need and the losers.

[Correspondent] What concessions can you make in the issues that have been made public, by 20 September?

[Peto] There is no difference of opinion between the two parties concerning their objectives, that the country's situation must be improved. Obviously we have differences at times over the tools that can be allowed, and over the manner in which certain tasks should be accomplished.

Nor do we argue over the need to help those who are losing out, because Hungary cannot allow people to end up in an unworthy situation.

Sometimes we disagree—although we came to compromise when concluding the coalition agreement—over how this issue should be handled. One view is that we should take from the rich and handle the country's problems in that way. Another view—and it is my view—is that the poor must be made richer.

The country's distributable income is finite. We have known and agreed for decades that the country's largest burden is the extremely expensive, loss-making, and obsolete state industry. The cutbacks in state industry, in the state economy, require very tough, and to be sure occasionally unpopular, measures. We presumably all knew when we—the two parties—came to power, that most of the people agreed with the goal, and this was shown by the election results. However, we expected the path leading to the goal to be very different, and sometimes unpopular.

I think that if we expect the people to understand the difficulties that must be endured in the interest of the noble goals, we also must be patient. We should not resort to impatient measures at the first difficulties, after the second difficulties, after a possible temporary drop in popularity; instead we should be more considered about the subsequent measures whereby we could achieve the goal of doing away with the lossmaking economy, and alleviate the burdens on the citizens.

[Horn] In connection with what Ivan Peto said, the government really cannot be blamed for losing popularity. We are taking measures that elicit incomprehension and displeasure among many people.

Why have I raised this issue? The essence, concerning the functioning of government, is how can we make this transition easier to endure? I believe that if we manage to develop a social market economy, which is our goal, the situation will be much better. There is no question of wishing to expand, unbridled, the number of government officials. [passage omitted]

My belief is that if we make a decision, especially one with major impact, and if it is not implemented, then the lost opportunities cause great losses for the country. So there are very many important spheres where we could function better if the government functioned in a more organized manner. This is what I wished to achieve, having analyzed the experiences of the past 12 or 13 months, and I trust that we will be able to agree with the coalition partner over this issue. [passage omitted]

[Correspondent] The question, now, after the arguments, is whether it is possible to begin from a clean slate, and whether these...

[Horn, interrupting] There might be arguments in the future, too, but they must be conducted in a civilized manner. We agreed, with Ivan Peto and the SZDSZ leadership, that if there was disagreement we should sort it out among one another, and not publicly. I emphasize that there always are disagreements between coalition partners; these must be sorted out in a civilized manner.

[Peto] Disagreements exist; it is the right of the disagreeing sides to decide whether or not the argument is offensive. Last Tuesday we agreed that we would analyze the functioning of the coalition. It is also pertinent that we agreed that the coalition could not function if public disputes diverted the attention of the public from the government's real work. [passage omitted]

[Correspondent] It emerges from opinion polls that support for the government parties has decreased over their year in power. According to a poll by Szonda-Ipsos, support for the opposition parties exceeds that for the government parties, and according to an August poll, the Independent Smallholders' Party was ahead of the MSZP for the first time. How do you view this situation? [passage omitted]

[Horn] The results of the public opinion polls must be respected. They are thought-provoking. However, as I said earlier, we are not courting popularity. We should like to realize what we undertook in the summer and spring of 1994. I very much trust that the year 1996 will be, as planned, the last year when tough restrictive measures have to be taken, and that in 1997 and 1998 people will feel the improvement in their everyday lives. Just like the international partners highly appreciate the policy pursued by the government—that too is important, although it is not consolation for the hundreds of thousands, and millions, of people.

It will be easier to drift with the current, not to take unpopular measures. That, however, will be extremely irresponsible with regard to the present and the future of the country.

I am convinced that we have every chance, if we continue persistently, that we will catch up with the developed countries, and that this will bring about prosperity for the people. [passage omitted]

[Correspondent] Can it be declared here and now, irrespective of the decisions made and discussions conducted until the deadline of 20 September, that the two parties will carry on governing in a coalition? Or will this depend on what happens until then?

[Horn] I do not understand the question entirely, since it did not even emerge during the disagreement that we might wish to break off our cooperation. There was disagreement, without doubt; it did not even occur—at least to the MSZP—that it might leave the coalition or cancel the coalition agreement.

There was a confrontation between various views. I trust that we will be able to reach agreement and carry on working together.

[Peto] The coalition does not exist for itself, we did not set it up for its own sake, but for the sake of realizing certain aims. The coalition will remain stable as long as there is a chance of achieving these aims.

[Correspondent] Thank you for accepting our invitation.

Analysts Say Coalition Peace Might Be Fragile

AU0809144895 Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP in Hungarian 8 Sep 95 p 5

[Unattributed report: "Coalition Peace Might Be Fragile"]

[FBIS Translated Text] According to the analysis of some leading politicians of the Hungarian Socialist Party [MSZP], it is possible that the prime minister, who was forced to retreat in the recent coalition conflict, will again put government expansion on the agenda in one form or another sooner or later.

We learned that the question whether Gabor Fodor remains minister of education could be one of the stakes of the behind-the-scenes coalition talks. In the course of the talks aimed at solving the coalition crisis, MSZP circles claimed that, if the Alliance of Free Democrats [SZDSZ] uses equal standards and does not find Sandor Nagy suitable for the position of economic coordination minister, the SZDSZ leadership must also admit that Gabor Fodor is also unsuitable for the position of minister of education and culture.

According to our information, Gyula Horn, who once appealed to Gabor Kuncze to dismiss the education minister, would also find it important to dismiss Gabor Fodor because, by this move, he could increase his shaken popularity within his party. As is well known, several trade union leaders within and outside parliament wrote a letter to Horn and asked him to fire Fodor. However, on the one hand, the SZDSZ regards the dismissal at the pressure of the prime minister as a question of prestige; on the other hand, they claim that it would not be honest to dismiss a minister who steadily supports the government's restrictive measures. At the same time, the junior coalition partner does not have a candidate who would accept the nomination because, as we learned, both Alajos Dornbach and Balint Magyar rejected this position. The SZDSZ leaders are also aware of the fact that support for the Bokros package's educational saving measures undermined Gabor Fodor's prestige as education minister.

However, both MSZP and SZDSZ circles think that the problem could be solved through a possible "change of ministers." According to the still unofficial proposal, in the future, the Ministry of Education and Culture would be led by a socialist politician, and the SZDSZ would provide the head of the Justice Ministry. Many people regard Ferenc Glatz, the former education and culture minister of the Nemeth cabinet, as suitable for the position of education minister, while SZDSZ's Peter Hack is the favorite candidate for the position of justice minister. According to several SZDSZ politicians, this proposal could be the basis for negotiations. At the same time, several other people advise against such a solution and say that, with the possible appointment of Elemer Kiss as minister without portfolio, the center of the parliament's legislation-preparation activity would shift from the Justice Ministry to the new ministry and, in this case, the Justice Ministry would become weightless.

We learned that, in the latest coalition debate, the MSZP would have gladly offered the SZDSZ to hand over the Justice Ministry in exchange for the positions proposed by the prime minister. However, the junior coalition party regarded the rejection of the government expansion as an issue of principle and, therefore, they refused any deal, including the idea of creating a European Integration Ministry led by the SZDSZ.

Last week, the SZDSZ came up with the idea of abolishing the position of privatization minister. Although the SZDSZ representatives stressed that they did not have any objection to Tamas Suchman, their tense relations with the privatization minister is well known. It is also possible that the SZDSZ answered the attacks on Gabor Fodor by renewing their criticism of Horn-confident Tamas Suchman.

According to our information, some MSZP Board members are not satisfied with the MSZP-SZDSZ agreement reached on 5 September. Many people in the party particularly disapprove of the fact that Sandor Nagy's appointment in the cabinet has been taken off the agenda for now. One of the Board members who wished to remain anonymous told us after the meeting of the Coalition Coordination Council on 5 September that Nagy will be minister anyhow sooner or later. According to analysts, a group might emerge around the chairman of the National Federation of Hungarian Trade Unions [MSZOSZ] that could even threaten Horn's position within the MSZP. The MSZP will hold its next congress at the end of November. Although personnel issues are not on the agenda of the congress, one cannot exclude the possibility that such issues will be discussed. Political analysts think the prime minister, who was forced to retreat in this coalition conflict, will again bring up the issue of government expansion in one form or another sooner or later.

President: Territory Exchange Ruled Out

AU0809184695 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1700 GMT 8 Sep 95

[Interview with Bosnia-Herzegovina President Alija Izetbegovic by Leila Ababovic; place and date not given—recorded]

[FBIS Translated Text] [Ababovic] Mr. President, the U.S. initiative has led to the resumption of the peace process in Geneva today. What basic conditions does Bosnia-Herzegovina require in order for the process to progress?

[Izetbegovic] I will tell you one condition, one basic condition; actually, I will repeat the condition that we have reiterated several times and that is the maintenance of Bosnia-Herzegovina as an integral, sovereign, and independent state—a UN member—and the maintenance of the prerequisites for its reintegration in the future, that is, the constitutional prerequisites and institutions that will enable its reintegration. These are, in short, our basic conditions for (?resuming) the peace negotiations.

[Ababovic] At the press conference held immediately after the closing of the Geneva meeting, Mr. Holbrooke said that the Contact Group plan on territorial demarcation on the 51 to 49 percent principle had been adopted. Moreover, he said that negotiators would agree among themselves on the territorial demarcation. There has already been speculation in the public about exchanging territories with the [Pale Serb] aggressor.

[Izetbegovic] As far as we are concerned, exchanging territory is out of the question; the only possible thing is the chetniks' withdrawal from territories that belong to the Federation. Our army will not withdraw from a single position that it now controls and I literally mean it will not withdraw a single foot. Therefore, all this speculation [words indistinct].

[Ababovic] Finally, let me ask you about the NATO and RRF action, about Operation Night Flight [as heard], which is still in progress. Are you satisfied with the results achieved so far?

[Izetbegovic] Only partially. I believe we are overestimating the results; namely, according to the assessments and information available to the army, significant damage has only been inflicted on the chetnik infrastructure; moving targets have mostly not suffered any damage. When I say moving targets, I mean tanks, artillery; some of it has been damaged and hit, but the killing machine around Sarajevo has not been destroyed. Therefore, Sarajevo is still threatened, which means that we are only relatively satisfied with the results achieved.

Izetbegovic:'Heading Towards Peace' After Geneva

AU0909192295 Paris AFP in English 1906 GMT 9 Sep 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Sarajevo, Sept 9 (AFP)—Bosnian President Alija Izetbegovic said his country was "heading towards peace" Saturday [9 September] following the Geneva accord which diplomats described as a significant step towards ending the conflict.

"I am an optimist. We are heading towards peace and I see a new Bosnia based on peace," Izetbegovic said in an address on Bosnian television Saturday evening.

The Geneva accord agreed by the foreign ministers of Bosnia, Croatia and rump Yugoslavia, representing the Bosnian Serbs, affirmed the integrity of Bosnia-Herzegovina but accepted the rebel Serb state as as equal partner to the Moslem-Croat federation. The two political "entities" will have the right to form their own governments.

Speaking about the effective recognition of the Serbs' Republika Srpska, the self-styled state which has prosecuted the war against non-Serbs in Bosnia, Izetbegovic said: "It is a bitter pill but it is not poisonous."

The Bosnian president said his government made concessions to the Serbs after 41 months of war "because of peace. We need peace. There has been too much death, mutilation, destruction."

On Friday Izetbegovic insisted that in determining the borders between the two entities, in which the Serbs are required to give up around a third of the territory they currently hold, his government would not agree to any concessions of territory currently under the authority of Sarajevo. He was implicitly rejecting suggestions that he trade away the eastern Bosnian enclave of Gorazde.

The Bosnian president said the Geneva accord did not represent a division of Bosnia but was rather "a delimitation that we acepted last year when we accepted the Contact Group plan of 49-51 percent.... The so-called Serb Republic remains a part of Bosnia-Herzegovina," he said.

He admitted he had found it hard to accept the term of "Serb Republic" and said he had done so because he did not want "to risk having the NATO operation cancelled."

There were other positive aspects to the accord, he said, notably the promise of a U.S. troop deployment to assist with the implementation of the plan.

Izetbegovic Guarantees No Sarajevo Offensives

LD1009180595 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1700 GMT 10 Sep 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Alija Izetbegovic, president of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Presidency, had a telephone conversation with French President Jacques Chirac today. He also received U.S. Ambassador to Sarajevo John Menzies.

The talks with both collocutors referred to further NATO and UN actions in the zone of Sarajevo. Both collocutors informed President Izetbegovic that Karadzic's Serbs have not withdrawn heavy weapons around Sarajevo under the pretext that the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army would take advantage of the changed situation and seize parts of the city which are now under Serb control; using this pretext, Serb advocates worldwide are demanding a halt to NATO and UN actions.

In order to remove this false pretext, President Izetbegovic offered guarantees to the French and U.S. sides that the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army will not launch any offensives in the zone of Sarajevo, nor will it attempt to gain military advantage on the basis of these actions. The Bosnia-Herzegovina Army will abide by this as long as political talks on the status of Sarajevo are under way, provided they begin immediately and are concluded within a reasonable period of time. It is understood that this obligation ceases to be valid at any moment of the city being exposed to a Serb attack.

Their talks also encompassed the issue of preserving the unity of the city and measures that ought to be taken to prevent a repeat of the situation from February 1994, when Mladic's forces created an illusion that they had withdrawn their heavy weapons, while in reality they had only concealed them and soon afterwards renewed their attacks on the city. President Izetbegovic said he is convinced that the international community will on this occasion completely fulfill its obligations toward Sarajevo and all other protected areas, saying this is of essential importance for the successful continuation of the peace process. His collocutors agreed.

Silajdzic on Basic Principle of State Sovereignty

AU0809201295 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1700 GMT 8 Sep 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Haris Silajdzic, prime minister of the Republic and Federation of Bosnia-Herzegovina, today held a press conference in Tuzla. The topic of the conference focused on the current peace process and the U.S. peace initiative for Bosnia-Herzegovina.

Our government has accepted the latest U.S. peace initiative, which is almost entirely based on the Contact Group plan for Bosnia-Herzegovina. The novelty is that the United States is now ready to support diplomacy with force; moreover, another novelty is that we have again made a concession to the international community by agreeing to discuss once again the Contact Group plan, which is proof of our sincere desire for peace, Prime Minister Silajdzic stressed. He assessed that the talks held in Geneva today would constitute the preliminary phase and stressed that certain basic principles would be discussed. The basic principle is sovereignty and territorial integrity of Bosnia-Herzegovina and it cannot be denied. Of course, it would be unrealistic to expect complete satisfaction on both sides, Dr. Silajdzic said.

As far as ethnic partition is concerned, the Bosnia-Herzegovina prime minister stressed that it had actually been done by force by the Belgrade regime, but a legal ethnic division is something else because you cannot deny displaced persons the right to return to their homes; these rights must be secured in the final documents of the peace process for Bosnia-Herzegovina. It is the international community's responsibility not only to secure this right, but also to secure conditions for return, because its passivity has contributed to the current situation, Dr. Silajdzic stressed.

As far as internal arrangements in Bosnia-Herzegovina are concerned, the prime minister said that the existence of two entities was a reality, but that they are not equal or parallel entities because the Serb one had been forged through force.

The problems of Srebrenica and Zepa refugees were also addressed. According to Silajdzic, more permanent accommodation for the Srebrenica and Zepa refugees was a priority task for the Bosnia-Herzegovina Government, while results are directly linked to the Government's financial resources.

Generally assessing the chances for peace in Bosnia-Herzegovina at the moment, the prime minister stressed that these coordinates had crossed in the peace point. [sentence as heard] Our struggle and our perseverance to survive has contributed the most to this. The world has finally realized—and we have waited a long time—that it could no longer support a fascist regime, Silajdzic said.

Asked about the future of an integral and undivided Sarajevo, Siljadzic expressed optimism and doubted that Europe would allow the erection of a new Berlin wall. He also expressed optimism regarding Bosnia-Herzegovina's economic future, as great hopes were being invested in the international community's promise that it would review a plan for economic reconstruction within the peace process that would be some sort of new Marshall Plan.

Sovereignty 'Not for Negotiation'

LD0909180295 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1700 GMT 9 Sep 95

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Prime Minister Haris Silajdzic held talks in Visoko today with the leaders of the municipality. They discussed the problem of accommodation for refugees from Zepa, and their quality of life. Our correspondent reports reports from Visoko:

[Unidentified correspondent] [Passage omitted] When talking about yesterday's meeting in Geneva, Silajdzic stressed that as long as talks assumed the existence of one, undivided country, and our territorial integrity and sovereignty, that is, Bosnia within its historical borders, the talks were alright. However, serious negotiations are forthcoming.

When you have negotiations, you have compromises. Compromises mean that we will not have everything we want, nor is the international community ready to accept this, regardless of whether this is justified or not. [sentence as heard] There can be no compromise with the unity of the state, its sovereignty, international recognition, and territorial integrity. This is not for negotiation.

We will talk and negotiate about internal reorganization of Bosnia-Herzegovina in the wake of the well-known events, Haris Silajdzic stressed among other things during his visit to Visko.

Silajdzic Rejects New 'Berlin Wall' in Sarajevo

MM1109104095 London AL-SHARQ AL-AWSAT in Arabic 10 Sep 95 pp 1, 4

[Report on interview with Bosnian Prime Minister Haris Silajdzic by Samir Hasan in Tuzla; date not given: "Haris Silajdzic Tells AL-SHARQ AL-AWSAT: We Will Not Accept a New 'Berlin Wall' in Sarajevo"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Tuzla—During his lightning visit yesterday to the city of Tuzla, Bosnian Prime Minister Haris Silajdzic gave an interview to AL-SHARQ AL-AWSAT in which he touched on the Bosnian Government's next step in the event of the new U.S. plan's failure or success and the possibility that the NATO air strikes will force the Serbs to withdraw their heavy weapons from the Sarajevo area, and said that Europe is trying to build a new Berlin Wall in Bosnia through the partitioning of Sarajevo.

On the Geneva talks, the Bosnian prime minister said that "there are four preliminary meetings prior to discussing details of the U.S. plan. We are unable to make an evaluation before the talks are resumed next week."

Silajdzic added: "Europe destroyed the old Berlin Wall and wants to build a new wall in Sarajevo, but we will not accept this wall and we will not change our policy. It is up to Europe to change its policy. The difference between our respect for human and minority rights in Bosnia and the enemy Serbs who have committed ethnic cleansing, rape, arrests, and killing is now clear for everyone to see. The fact that any visitor to Sarajevo can see Orthodox and Catholic churches, mosques, and synagogues is sufficient proof of that. There is even a representative of the Bosnian Serbs among the members of the Bosnian Government delegation to the Geneva talks."

On the Bosnian Government's steps in the event of the negotiations' success or failure, Silajdzic said: "If the negotiations fail, we will continue to defend ourselves and persist in our defense efforts. This means we will renew our demands for lifting the arms embargo because we consider it illegal. Should the negotiations succeed, we have more than 720 economic reform projects awaiting peace and the international community's help for Bosnia to stand on its own feet again. I say the international community, because our losses could have been smaller had the international community adopted a firmer policy to deter Serb extremists."

EU Negotiator on Bosnian Peace Efforts

MS1109102895 London BBC Television Network in English 2130 GMT 8 Sep 95

[Interview with EU peace negotiator Carl Bildt by Kirsty Wark on 8 September; from the "Newsnight" program—recorded]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] [Wark] Well earlier this evening I spoke to the European Union negotiator Carl Bildt, and I asked him whether the separate constitutional arrangements for Bosnia-Herzegovina and the Serbian controlled Republika Srpska mean in effect the creation of an ethnic Serb state?

[Bildt] Yes there is a Republic of Srpska as well as there is a Federation, and they will have their own constitutions, and they will also be democratic, it will be the respect of human rights, I think it's going take some time, until we can be able to return to the multiethnic Bosnia that we are all dreaming of, and that I think if peace is given a chance will be reestablished in the future.

[Wark] But what is to stop this Republika Srpska developing stronger links with real Serbia than with Bosnia-Herzgovina?

[Bildt] The simple fact that Bosnia-Herzegovina is one country, that they are members of the United Nations with all that entitles and implies, then I would—of course they are going to develop, there will be an open border on the [word indistinct], they are close culturally, they are close family-wise, they are close economically, but I would also hope that they will be able to re-establish a lot of the links inside Bosnia that have been so important in the past, and I do believe that—give peace a chance, give peace a chance to work for a number of years, and we will see it happening.

[Wark] But this evening the Bosnian Foreign Minister Muhamed Sacirbegovic, said that there was absolutely no question of a confederation between Republika Srpska and Serbia, so what kind of relations would be acceptable, cultural relations, economic relations?

[Bildt] I would certainly hope it would be both cultural and economic and whatever, because I am not in favour of borders in any part of Europe.

[Wark] But that is greater Serbia in all but name?

[Bildt] No it is not a greater Serbia, because what we have here is the right for them to establish the parallel and special links that they want to have, consistent with the territorial integrity of Bosnia-Herzegovina, then I would be pleased to let them work out the exact [word indistinct] of that, and when I discuss with the parties on these issues, I don't see this as being one of the great difficulties ahead.

[Wark] But no military links?

[Bildt] I would hope not, there are provisions to that effect in the Federation, Confederation agreement, and we will have to deal with that, and if that is dealt with in that context we can solve it also in other context, but I would certainly hope that will not be the case, and that will not be my opinion consistent with the territorial integrity of Bosnia-Herzgovina.

Sacirbegovic Discusses Views on Peace Accord

Rejects Union With Serbia

BR0809142995 Paris LIBERATION in French 8 Sep 95 p 10

[Article by Jean Hatzfeld: "Bosnian Reticence at U.S. Peace Plan"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Sarajevo—Bosnian Foreign Minister Muhamed Sacirbegovic and Minister for Relations with the United Nations Hasan Muratovic will go to Geneva today so as not to hinder American efforts. President Alija Izetbegovic's senior adviser Kernal Muftic said that the aim was to "demonstrate our good will once again and, if possible, to be a bit more specific on certain points for discussion." U.S. special envoy Richard Holbrooke was well aware of the misgivings of the Bosnian leadership to negotiate at the start of the air strikes campaign. He has therefore prepared this three-way meeting with great care using a working document that has been constantly moving to and fro between Sarajevo, Belgrade, and Zagreb, where it has been annotated by the heads of state of all three countries.

The main point that President Izetbegovic had to make concerned Gorazde. Kernal Muftic stated: "We will never even mention the fate of this enclave, let alone discuss it." The American plan more or less proposed swapping Gorazde, isolated on the banks of the Drina in Serb-held territory, in return for the rapid liberation of Sarajevo. This categorical no on the part of the Bosnians is not a response to the refusal of the Serbian military to pull their guns out of the Sarajevo region, nor is it a way of upping the stakes before exchanging the town. Alija Izetbegovic desperately needs a personal victory (the freeing of Sarajevo would not be attributed to him), and he will order Gorazde to be militarily defended to the death.

Muhamed Sacirbegovic will use the meeting as an opportunity to explain his thoughts on the American plan drawn up the day after the fall of Knin, which was recaptured by the Croatian Army in early August. He told us the day before he left: "Our position is that peace can only be envisaged in the framework of a republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina, which will preserve its territorial and constitutional integrity, and which may include a Serbian region. However, we will not agree to a union. We will stress that the basis of the territorial map will be that set out in the Contact Group's plan." This plan provides for a partitioning of the territory, with 51 percent for the Croatian-Bosnian federation and 49 percent for the Serbs, who currently occupy some 70 percent of the country.

The Bosnians will reject any regulation that places the capital under anyone else's control but theirs. Kernal Muftic explained: "Nevertheless, we are prepared to discuss the presence of a 'buffer' unit of UN troops in the Serb-occupied districts to avoid an exodus similar to the one we saw in Krajina in August." They will also demand the repatriation of refugees, notably those from the Serb-held enclaves of Srebrenica and Zepa in accordance with the principles of the Human Rights Charter.

The Bosnian attitude is crystal clear at this first diplomatic meeting. President Izetbegovic has understood that a diplomatic page turned with the arrival on the scene of President Chirac, presidential candidate Clinton, and the generals who had been humiliated by the hostage taking. Despite the threat posed by Serbian tanks around his town, he knows he is gaining in power and believes that it is not in Sarajevo's best interests to start negotiating too soon.

Moreover, he fears the consequences of the NATO air strikes which continued all day yesterday hitting more and more targets and boosting their destructive force. The main consequence of this will be the cease-fire agreement that the West will present him with, either in Geneva on Friday [8 September] or shortly afterwards. President Izetbegovic, who is finding it hard to hold back his troops who are impatient to go to war, believes that the military balance is swinging his way as time goes by. He wants to rebuild "his" republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina with "his" army. The diplomats will find it hard to convince him that this project, just like Slobodan Milosevic's project for a Greater Serbia, will have to be scaled down.

Welcomes Geneva Agreement

NC0809192995 London MBC Television in Arabic 1800 GMT 8 Sep 95

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] The rival parties in Bosnia have reached an agreement on basic principles. It was announced by U.S. envoy Richard Holbrooke in Geneva today. [passage omitted]

After the announcement Bosnian Foreign Minister Muhamed Sacirbegovic said in an interview with the MBC that today's agreement ensures a legal and lawful recognition of the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina, which the Serbs sought to destroy. [passage omitted]

[Begin Bosnian foreign minister recording in English with superimposed Arabic translation] What is important is that the agreement confirms the lawful and legal status of Bosnia-Herzegovina. Those who committed crimes of ethnic cleansing also sought to destroy our country. Now they are compelled to agree that this country is unified and sovereign. The confirmation of our unity and sovereignty will provide a better opportunity for our integration and the return of refugees. [end recording] [passage omitted]

Places Condition on Peace

AU0809200495 Paris AFP in English 1947 GMT 8 Sep 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Geneva, Sept 8 (AFP)—Bosnian Foreign Minister Muhamed Sacirbegovic stressed that the "basic principles" agreed Friday [8 September] in Geneva were "a compromise" but warned Bosnia would not recognise a "Serb Republic" until there was peace.

"We won't recognise the Republika Srpska until there is peace," Sacirbegovic told AFP.

Earlier Friday the former Yugoslavia's main warring parties, meeting in Geneva, reached a major agreement on the future status of Bosnia-Hercegovina but the chief U.S. negotiator warned that substantial differences remained.

U.S. Assistant Secretary of State Richard Holbrooke hailed the agreement in principle, which provides for Bosnia to recognise the existence on its territory of a "Serb Republic," as "an important milestone in the search for peace."

Ganic 'Successfully Recovering' From Car Crash

LD1009141395 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 10 Sep 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Edhem Bicakcic, acting member of the state presidency, and Ejup Ganic, a member of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Presidency and vice president of the [Muslim-Croat] federation, talked on the phone today and exchanged opinions about the foreign ministers' talks in Geneva. Ganic is in Austria, successfully recovering from a car crash.

Bicakcic conveyed to Granic the current stances of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Presidency on all issues concerning the peace process and informed him about [word indistinct] reactions to the initial agreement [reached in Geneva].

Ganic is regularly informed and closely monitors events in the country. He follows with special attention the results of the NATO action and their impact on the peace process, as well as agreements and activities focused on the implementation of decisions of the federation's (?arbitration). He is also in constant contact with the U.S. ambassador in Austria, which enables him to follow diplomatic and political activity of the international community.

Ganic's heath is satisfactory. He is recovering well and can be expected to return to Bosnia soon, when he will become more actively involved in state activities.

Geneva Meeting 'Minor Progress' Toward Peace

AU0809201095 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1700 GMT 8 Sep 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Today's ministers' meeting in Geneva ended some time after 1600 [1400 GMT]. The document prepared prior to the meeting was adopted without any changes, Minister Hasan Muratovic, head of the State Commission for Relations With UNPROFOR [UN Protection Force], has told BH PRESS.

No document was adopted for eastern Slavonia because the Serb side rejected the agreement drafted earlier, Muratovic stressed. He added that two breaks had been allowed for the coordination of stances, but this did not happen. Holbrooke's group is to continue with their work.

According to Muratovic, work on the peace process will be continuing next week. A Contact Group meeting will be held in Moscow and that is where a plan for future negotiations will be worked out. Muratovic said that in the future, Richard Holbrooke, the head of the U.S. negotiating team, would inform the sides about the agenda prior to arrival for the talks. Minister Muratovic expects that Holbrooke, who has successfully and efficiently headed the process so far, will be continuing to work as dynamically as he has been doing so far.

In the course of the meeting, the Serb side demanded a change, but this was rejected. We consider this to be minor progress in the peace process, Muratovic said. Giving a global assessment of today's meeting held at the U.S. mission in Geneva, Muratovic said that it had been superbly chaired by Richard Holbrooke and that the tone had been extremely tolerant. He also stressed that Bosnia-Herzegovina remains integral within its internationally recognized borders.

Liberals: 'War Is Over,' U.S. Soldiers Coming

LD0909145495 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 9 Sep 95

[FBIS Translated Text] The Liberal Party of Bosnia-Herzegovina [Liberalna Stranka Bosne I Hercegovine—LSBH] believes that the Geneva agreement is not the best solution, but endless war is not a better one. Through this outcome, we pay the price for the international community's lack of resolve to halt the aggression against Bosnia-Herzegovina on time and for the creation of national states in Bosnia's neighborhood. The party believes that the war is over in the political sense and that it has entered its final phase: difficult and long negotiations about territorial issues, limited clashes, and, what is very important, the (?inevitability) of the arrival of U.S. soldiers in Bosnia-Herzegovina.

Social Democrats: Accord Contradicts Referendum

LD0909145095 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 9 Sep 95

[FBIS Translated Text] The Union of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Social-Democrats [Unija Bosansko-Hercegovackih Socijal-Demokrata—UBHSD] believes that during the entire course of the constitution and development of Bosnia-Herzegovina and during the preparations for the peace process, no attention has been paid to the 1992 Bosnia-Herzegovina Presidency platform, about which a consensus was reached among all political parties. The UBHSD believes that the Geneva agreement does not satisfy fully the interests of the citizens of Bosnia-Herzegovina, which voted for a single and whole Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina in the 1992 referendum.

Presidency Member Views U.S. Peace Proposals

AU1009194395 Sarajevo LJILJAN in Serbo-Croatian 6 Sep 95 pp 3-4

[Interview with Mirko Pejanovic, a member of the Presidency of the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina and leader of the Serb Civic Council, by Edin Subasic and Ibnel Ramic; place and date not given: "United States Offers Separate Army and Money to Karadzic's Serbs, but Only in the Unified Bosnia-Herzegovina"]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] [Passage omitted] [LJILJAN] Tell us more details about the contents of the initiative of the United States. In comparison to the Contact Group plan, what new elements does it offer concerning territorial division, constitutional solutions, and other aspects?

[Pejanovic] This initiative has not been presented as a document. The consultations were designed to check what the document could look like. This initiative is expected to become a plan soon. According to the elements of that initiative, it is realistic to hope for success. The United States has great power in the international community; it has started the entire mechanism, and reached consensus with the European Union and Russia, which guarantees success. It was like that with the Washington Agreement as well; when the United States decided to reach it, it was reached.

What is the relation between that initiative and the Contact Group plan? It is not outside that plan. It retains the 51 to 49 percent ratio. What is new is the issue of constitutional arrangements, which were not elaborated in the Contact Group plan. What is new is that it poses some questions in a different way. One of those questions is the achievement of a peace solution on the entire territory of former Yugoslavia, globally. On that basis, it introduces a different model for the signing of the agreement, and it anticipates that the signatories of the agreement be the presidents of the three countries: Bosnia-Herzegovina, Croatia, and Federal Republic of Yugoslavia. That also includes mutual recognition.

[LJILJAN] What is the internal arrangement of Bosnia-Herzegovina planned to be like?

[Pejanovic] The initiative of the United States has a firm attitude towards the integrity and international existence of Bosnia-Herzegovina, and the right of refugees to return. The issue of internal arrangement is one of the issues with which Karadzic's Serbs constantly justify their aggression, namely that they are not allowed to join Yugoslavia. That, of course, did not give them the right to start an aggression and kill people, if they are worried about a political issue. Internal arrangement is a very complex issue. I believe that the U.S. initiative will be very persistent, but in some things it will be cautious to find a solution which does not collide with the integrity of Bosnia-Herzegovina. Some solutions will remain transitory and some will need time to be implemented. Three variants are possible:

The first one is to arrange the whole territory of the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina as a federation, which would give a federation of three nations with their internal arrangements—municipalities and cantons with majority population. [passage omitted]

The second idea is that of a union. It implies some joint functions on the level of the state and the participation of all nations in those functions. According to some viewpoints, this variant will be most acceptable, both to those on the territory controlled by Karadzic's parastate, and to the others. Why? Because that would imply a period in which they would exercise power independently, they would even have separate army and money, but they would be in Bosnia-Herzegovina, within one state. In a way, that would enable them to see, through their independence, that they cannot function without a joint state. Time would do its best, and there would come a reintegration.

[LJILJAN] But that can also lead to disintegration. How can the integrity of Bosnia-Herzegovina be protected?

[Pejanovic] Yes. That is why I say that a lot of caution is necessary; the limit is the integrity and international existence of the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina. There is also the idea of connecting Bosnia-Herzegovina with neighboring countries, i.e. the peoples from Bosnia with peoples in neighboring countries. In the U.S. initiative there is the idea of confederal connections, that of the Federation with Croatia and of the Serb entity with Serbia. That is another issue which needs to be carefully examined, because what does it mean to connect one entity with one state, and yet it all remains in the function of one, unified state? [passage omitted]

[LJILJAN] In your opinion, what is the situation in the Serb nationality in Bosnia-Herzegovina like?

[Pejanovic] The Serb nationality in Bosnia-Herzegovina had 1,300,000 people, according to the 1991 census. During the three and a half years of war, Serb ethnicity has disintegrated, in the physical, demographical, and political sense. Those who are under the control of the Pale regime—half a million of them—are with that regime, whether they want it or not. It is hard to differentiate. A process of differentiation has now started. Further, half a million—and this is a more vital part of Serbs—have become refugees. At first it was mostly in Serbia and Montenegro, then people went to European and other countries. On the territory of the Federation there are between 100,000 and 150,000 Serbs, mostly in cities, and those mostly in Sarajevo and Tuzla. There is also the fourth group, those lying under the earth, which is where Karadzic's policy brought them. The refugee group is politically not articulate, but it is a fact that their political aspiration is peace in Bosnia, and return to Bosnia. They are not with Karadzic, and I believe that that is a valuable part of this country. The Serbs who remained on the territory of the Federation in that way chose the joint fight and the idea of a multinational and democratic Bosnia.

No matter whether they have been engaged, or only suffered the aggression on these territories. This group includes the people politically organized in the Social Democratic Party [SDP], the Union of Social-Democrats for Bosnia-Herzegovina [UBSD], the Citizens' Democratic Party, the Serb Civic Council [SGV].... At the very beginning of the war, a group of Sarajevo Serbs, very distinguished people led by Braco Kosovac, formed the Forum of Citizens of Serb Nationality. Already then they condemned the policy of force and evil, of the destruction of this country. That idea later resulted in the Consultative Council led by academician Berberovic, and later there came the consolidation of the idea of gathering people of Serb nationality, for the sake of the joint fight for the future of Bosnia-Herzegovina, for the integration of all people, including those who are now under the control of Karadzic's regime. That is when the first Assembly of the Citizens of Serb Nationality was convened, in March 1994. The SGV was formed, and it has been active for over one year. The Council as a movement has experienced its affirmation on the territories under the control of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Government, councils have either been formed or are being formed in all places where there are Serbs. We have also managed to accomplish affirmation among Serbs who live as refugees, and we have tried to do something on the territories controlled by the Pale regime. That space is hermetically closed, ruled by only two forces—the army and the police, and the political life is reduced to only one leader, one nation, one television, and one party. The SGV's greatest success is on the plane of international affirmation and in the fight for peace in Bosnia-Herzegovina.

[LJILJAN] Is it possible to solve the Serb issue in Bosnia-Herzegovina, and in what way? What does the SGV do in that respect?

[Pejanovic] The Serb issue in Bosnia is one of the issues which needs a lot of time to be solved. It is the problem of the reintegration of the Serb ethnic grop in normal, democratic, civilized life in the state of Bosnia-Herzegovina. I believe that the SGV as a movement will be a big factor in that direction. Other parties will also contribute to the solution of the Serb issue, particularly parties which will grow in the Serb nation on the territory controlled by the Pale regime. A peace solution will impose a different political life. This policy with which Karadzic's regime led a great part of people into crimes against their neighbors, and then into their own ruin, isolation, poverty, and moral degradation, has no perspective. Fortunately, there is an alternative.

[LJILJAN] In that sense, have you managed to establish contact with Serbs on occupied territories?

[Pejanovic] Our representative who was at the meeting in Perugia talked with Mr. Dodig [not further identified]. Some people from the territory of Banja Luka want contacts with the SGV, and those contacts will continue at coming peace meetings.

[LJILJAN] Who could be the new leader of Serbs in Bosnia-Herzegovina, somebody who has been "on ice" during the war, or do you maybe see yourself in that role?

[Pejanovic] I would not like to talk about myself. There are a number of people, in Sarajevo too, who have remained honorable people. Within the differentiation which has begun on the territory controlled by Pale I see a possibility for the creation of new parties, new movements, new people, who will have a moderate, civilized, pro-Bosnian profile, and that will also need time. I do not believe that those people will be able to come to the political scene as long as the present structure exists, as long as the issue of peace or war is not resolved. Once the war stops, extremists will no longer have wings. It is hard to say who those people are. I know some intellectuals in Banja Luka who have remained honorable and yet managed to survive, some were removed. Of what Dodig is saying, 99 percent is parallel with the attitudes of the SGV.

[LJILJAN] What are the chances for Kecmanovic [former leader of the Reformist Party of Bosnia-Herzegovina, and former presidency member; defected to Belgrade at the beginning of the war] to reappear on the political scene of Bosnia-Herzegovina?

[Pejanovic] He is a skillful player in taking care of his own interests, in the sense that he sees himself where the new wind blows, rather than against the wind. But he does have qualities. According to some information, lately he wrote many articles in which he criticized the Pale regime, which, all together, says that he could be one of the politically active people on the territory of Bosnia-Herzegovina. [passage omitted]

[LJILJAN] What do you think about the level of democracy in the regime and in the state?

[Pejanovic] In the part controlled by the legal authorities, having in mind the conditions of war, I believe that there is more democracy than could be expected. However, if there is no "fresh air" soon, no new elections, Bosnia can experience something unwanted, namely—that the voice of opposition is completely lost in comparison to the ruling parties. Then there is no parliamentary democracy and we go back to the one-party monopoly. You see, if our parliament, in which 80 to 90 percent are SDA delegates, when the HDZ delegates take no part in it, and they often do not, then the participation of the opposition bloc is minor in the decisionmaking. Such a monopoly leads the parliament to one-party decisionmaking, which is the most dangerous thing for the parliament. Numerous European observers of political movements can hardly wait for us to make such mistakes against democracy. And then they will not support us. Then we will be pushed aside. As for perspectives, I am an optimist, as soon as the war is over. The unified and multinational Bosnia-Herzegovina opens perspectives for all nations.

MBO Opposes Attempts To Partition State

AU0809150795 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 8 Sep 95

[Report by Enes Osmancevic on MBO news conference in Tuzla on 8 September—recorded]

[FBIS Translated Text] Despite certain positive diplomatic progress, the Bosnia-Herzegovina tragedy unfortunately continues. There are attempts to partition our country, but there is little or no talk about it, Dr. Salih Burek, vice president of the Muslim Bosniak Organization [MBO] said today when he opened the regular MBO news conference.

If it comes to partition, it will be along ethnic, that is, confessional lines, Dr. Burek added, and asked how Bosnia-Herzegovina could be partitioned when the ethnic structure in all the municipalities prior to the war had been mixed. Any possible partition of Bosnia-Herzegovina will cause massive migrations and [words indistinct], which will have distressing repercussions in all spheres of life, Dr. Salih Burek believes.

The MBO representatives believe that the next session of the Republican Assembly should focus on this issue. The MBO has precise stances regarding the Bosnia-Herzegovina Government's report, which will be reviewed at the session. The government deserves the Assembly's support, particularly Prime Minister Haris Silajdzic, because since he took over as prime minister we can say that we have a government, Dr. Burek stressed and listed statistics showing an increase in production over recent times.

MBO representatives have submitted a request to the Republican Assembly for a special item to be added to the agenda, which would open an investigation into the fall of Srebrenica and Zepa into the [Pale Serb] aggressor's hands. It was proposed that an all-party parliamentary commission be formed to investigate the circumstances that led to the Srebrenica and Zepa citizens' tragedy. Since the Dutch assembly is debating the issue, I see no reason why we have not yet done the same, Dr. Burek said. He went on to express support for the stances of the [words indistinct] of the Bosanska Posavina and repeated his request to the Bosnia-Herzegovina Presidency to take a stance on the Posavina issue.

Karadzic, Krajisnik React to Geneva Agreement

LD0909172095 Belgrade SRNA in Serbo-Croatian 0633 GMT 9 Sep 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Sarajevo, 9 Sep (SRNA)—Having expressed his satisfaction with the official recognition of the integrity of the Republika Srpska [Bosnian Serb Republic—RS] in Geneva, RS President Radovan Karadzic said "the biggest role was played by the Serb people, who made it clear through referendums, and their resolve that no one in the world can use the expression 'Bosnian Serbs,' but that everyone will have to learn to say 'Republika Srpska.'"

President Karadzic expressed the hope that a peace agreement could be finalized soon, maybe in the next 40 days.

"I call on the United Nations to halt the aggression against the RS, because it cannot be allowed that the people be disarmed," Karadzic told [Bosnian] Serb Television last night.

The RS president offered guarantees that "the Serb army will not open fire on the Muslim part of Sarajevo with heavy weapons," and added that "international observers could monitor this."

RS People's Assembly Speaker Momcilo Krajisnik warned that "We must be exceptionally cautious following the aggression carried out by NATO, the Rapid Reaction Force, and our Muslim and Croat enemies."

Krajisnik warned that "Muslims will try to undermine the peace process and art the same time blame the Serbs for it." He added that despite the aggression, the RS delegation took part in the Geneva negotiations in order to prevent precisely this.

The RS speaker underlined the importance of the joint Yugoslav-RS delegation at the negotiations, adding:

"I trust our negotiating team and we will succeed."

Serbia Recognizes 'Legal Existence,' B-H Borders

AU0809154095 Paris AFP in English 1530 GMT 8 Sep 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Geneva, Sept 8 (AFP)—Serbia Friday [8 September] recognised the legal existence of Bosnia-Herzegovina [B-H] within its present borders, Bosnian ambassador to Croatia Kasim Trnka said here during international talks on the former Yugoslavia.

Trnka said recognition by rump Yugoslavia, in which Serbia is allied with Montenegro, was granted on the understanding that Bosnia would comprise two entities, a Croat-Moslem Federation formed last year and the Serb republic proclaimed in 1992 by separatist Serbs.

Serb Statement on NATO Air Strikes, Offensive

LD1009154795 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1415 GMT 10 Sep 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Banja Luka, 10 Sep (TANJUG)—The information service of the main staff of the Army of the Serb Republic [BSA] said that NATO strikes against the territory of the Serb Republic [RS] had continued today.

Throughout the night and this morning NATO planes carried out strikes against civilian targets in a number of localities throughout the RS, a statement said.

Joint Croat-Muslim forces have resumed their heavy offensives along the entire front from Vlasic via Srbobran, Kupres, Glamoc, Grahovo, and Bihac. During the night and this morning several thousand shells hit deep into RS territory "with support from NATO bombers and Croatian artillery."

Between 0140 and 0220 NATO planes bombed the area of Banja Luka. The main target was a TV transmitter and PTT communications system. At 2240 last night, NATO planes bombed Semizovac, north of Sarajevo, where rescue teams are still trying to clear the debris and pull out the dead and wounded.

At 0620 this morning an attack was again carried out on the area of Majevica. This was accompanied by a Muslim artillery attack from the direction of Tuzla.

It is said in the statement that between 0620 and 0700, NATO planes attacked a refugee center in Han Pijesak with cluster bombs and highly destructive shells. Rescue teams have been working hard to clear the debris. No figures are available of the dead and wounded.

Early this morning NATO planes dropped their "lethal cargo" on the region of Nevesinje where the TV transmitters and surrounding villages were targeted again. The areas of Jasenice and Krupa-na-Uni also came under attack. At the same time Krupa [na-Uni] came under artillery attack from Muslims on the left bank of the river Una.

In the 0600-0700 period the eastern part of the RS and especially the free territory of Gorazde and the municipalities of Sokolac and Rogatica were again attacked by NATO, the statement says.

Throughout the night and today the Rapid Reaction Force deployed on Mt. Igman have been hitting urban parts of Serb [-held] Sarajevo causing fresh damage. Rescue teams are out trying to pull out the dead and wounded despite constant artillery barrage from the Muslim part of Sarajevo, the statement says, adding in conclusion that both the population and the BSA are determined to defend every inch of their territory.

Mladic's Character 'Cannot Suit Milosevic'

AU1009202095 Podgorica MONITOR in Serbo-Croatian 8 Sep 95 p 25

["Excerpt" from an interview with Biljana Plavsic, vice president of the Serbian Republic, to POGLEDI; place and date not given: "Milosevic Is Leading Us Into Destruction"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Biljana Plavsic, vice president of the so-called Serbian Republic, speaks about the Karadzic-Mladic-Milosevic triangle in Kragujevac-based POGLEDI:

[Plavsic] The people were very happy after Dr. Karadzic had made the decision. He has risen in the eyes of the people now. Especially because the meddlers (whether the members of the League of Communists-Movement for Yugoslavia or the Yugoslav United Left, I do not know) are now dropping leaflets among the soldiers in the trenches, asking that soldiers take a stance: Who is for Karadzic and who for Mladic. You know what it means to present a man who is on the bulwark of the fatherland with such a dilemma.

In other words, Milosevic has already prepared the Serbian people to believe that the leadership of the Republic of Serb Krajina is responsible for the fall of Krajina, and now he is preparing ground so that the Serb Republic leadership would in advance be responsible for everything that is yet to happen.

However, there is one thing that Milosevic perhaps did not take into account. Mladic with his character cannot suit him. Mladic is a spiteful man. A man with his own opinion. Perhaps he is sometimes too spiteful, however, this is on the other hand also impressive. Such a man cannot suit Milosevic, only cowards suit him.

[POGLEDI] How does this match with your statement about the manipulation with Mladic?

[Plavsic] Only in one way. If he is manipulated he will be ousted as soon as he has done his job. I repeat, such a man cannot suit Milosevic. Honorable people who have their stance and opinion cannot be found near Milosevic.

[POGLEDI] You have encouraged us a bit with the opinion that Mladic is nevertheless not Milosevic's man. If it were only true....

[Plavsic] You know, we cannot know everything about a man. However, I know his nature. He is simply not perfidious. He is a soldier and not a politician. In terms of cunning, shrewdness, and punches below the belt, he does not reach to Milosevic's ankle.

Bosnian Serb Koljevic Discusses Geneva Agreement

AU0809204995 Belgrade RTB Television Network in Serbo-Croatian 1730 GMT 8 Sep 95

[Statement by Bosnian Serb official Nikola Koljevic in Geneva on 8 September—recorded]

[FBIS Translated Text] This has been a preliminary meeting. This is the very beginning. The international conference is yet to come after this. However, as far as the Serb side is concerned, I would say that three things are of the utmost importance.

For the first time the Republic of Srpska has been made official by the international community. Second, the Republic of Srpska has been given the right to live and function in accordance with its own existing constitution. That is something that guarantees, so to speak, its independence, its integrity within some sort of a future union. That has still not been solved. Finally, something that is no less vital in importance for our people in general, I would say, is that the right has been established to links with Yugoslavia. The importance of this in the economic and political spheres is, I think, clear to all our people.

I would add two things that have been achieved at today's meeting, which have not been entered in the documents, but have been said publicly at the highest level on several occasions—and Mr. Holbrooke and Mr. Bildt spoke about it, and it is implied in the document—and that is the equal rights in everything and on all issues of the Federation of Bosnia-Herzegovina and the Republic of Srpska as one principle that will greatly help the conference, the principle that nothing is agreed until everything is agreed. [sentence as heard] This has been said publicly, this is a serious gathering, and I think that this cannot be denied. This will help the conference because there will simply be more confidence that no one will be cheated, that no one will be tricked if he accepts what has been accepted at the very beginning as the basic principles.

This has opened the road to an international conference for the solution to the political issue of the former Bosnia-Herzegovina, and we have heard what will happen over the next few days, not only weeks, since this process will proceed very quickly. It is obvious that following the next consultations in a week, no more than 10 days, the time will come for the beginning of the international conference for which these principles represent, I would say, a great perspective, and a just way toward a fair and long lasting peace.

Serb Red Cross: Stop Bombing of Civilians

LD1009202695 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2020 GMT 10 Sep 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Banja Luka, Sept. 10 (TANJUG)—The Bosnian Serb Red Cross sent a letter to International Committee of the Red Cross President Cornelio Sommaruga, appealing that NATO immediately stop bombing Bosnian Serb civilians, the Red Cross office in Banja Luka said Sunday.

The letter pointed out that NATO warplanes have been bombing villages and towns in Republika Srpska for ten days now, causing numerous casualties among civilians.

"We are deeply convinced as to your authority and will to help, and the renown of the International Committee of the Red Cross, and, expecting your reaction, we hope the bombing of civilian population and objects will stop," said the letter.

'Many' Civilians Killed

LD1009212395 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2115 GMT 10 Sep 95

["Pool" item]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Banja Luka, Sept. 10 (TANJUG)—The Bosnian Serb command said in a statement on Sunday that NATO's air strikes had resulted in many civilians dead and heavy material damage throughout the Republika Srpska.

NATO planes on Saturday bombed settlements around Banja Luka in western Bosnia, Srbinje and Nevesinje, southeastern Bosnia, Serb-held parts of Sarajevo and Mts Kozara, western Bosnia, Jahorina, central Bosnia, and Majevica, eastern Bosnia, said the statement. Rescue teams are in the field, helping with the wounded and counting those killed.

The Sarajevo suburb of Pavlovac was hit on Saturday, and more material damage was done. A heart patient died on the way to hospital because a bridge was blasted over the Semizovac-Srednje road.

The Bosnian Serb command said NATO jets continued with unselective and surprise attacks on military and civilian targets throughout the Republika Srpska (Bosnian Serb Republic).

A strong Muslim and Croat offensive launched Saturday on the western boundaries of the Republika Srpska has been countered by the Serbs. The assault began with the artillery, which fired over 600 missiles around Petrovac, Kljuc and Mrkonjic Grad, followed by Muslim-Croat infantry attacks. The lines of separation have not been moved, but fighting continues.

NATO jets in concert with joint Croatian and Muslim-Croat forces launched attacks on Srbobran and Kupres in western Bosnia which were repelled by the Serbs.

Serb forces have defended their lines in the southern part of the Republika, where NATO has in the past few days blasted many bridges, radio and television relays, postal facilities, residential buildings and other targets.

Making avail of the NATO attacks, Croatian forces are firing on the hinterland of Dubrovnik and around Trebinje with artillery, anti-aircraft and small-arms.

Commentary Opposes U.S. Partition Plan for B-H

AU0809170695 Rijeka NOVI LIST in Serbo-Croatian 5 Sep 95 pp 22-23

[Commentary by Zdravko Tomac: "Will the International Community Accept the Serb Neofascist Logic in the End?"]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] The massacre of innocent civilians at the market place in Sarajevo (39 killed and 80 wounded) has finally moved the slow, indecisive, and discordant world political bureaucracy.

NATO has finally started a genuine military action, assisted by the Rapid Reaction Force [RRF], with the aim of destroying the Serb artillery around Sarajevo and persuading the Bosnian Serbs to negotiate and accept the compromise peace solution. [passage omitted]

What Is the Real Objective of the NATO Military Intervention?

Because of all this and giving full support to the present decisiveness, we have to ask a couple of questions and we cannot get rid of some suspicions about the real objective of NATO's and the RRF's military intervention. Is it only retaliation for the recent massacre or has nevertheless a decision been made to destroy, this time completely, the Serb artillery around Sarajevo and other safe havens and prevent the further killing of innocent civilians. There are encouraging statements that the objective is not only retaliation but also to break the siege of Sarajevo and make the possibility of any shelling impossible. Of course, one of the objectives of this operation is also to force Karadzic to negotiate and to accept the political compromise that is offered by the so-called American initiative. I think that the responsibility of the international community and all those on whom the end of war depends to find a political compromise more or less acceptable for all the parties is immense and it is crucial to answer the following questions:

1. Is the resurrection of Bosnia-Herzegovina [B-H] possible as a multi-confessional, multinational, and multicultural state, which will be a federation organized in cantons, in which three equal nations, the Bosniaks, Serbs, and Croats, live?

2. Has the extent of the crime, ethnic cleansing, and resettlement of the population definitely killed Bosnia-Herzegovina as a multiconfessional, multinational, and multicultural state and is there no other solution but to recognize the new reality and accept the division of Bosnia-Herzegovina as the only realistic solution, first into two (the Serbian and Bosniak-Croatian), and then a further division of the Bosniak-Croatian part into Bosniak and Croatian parts, so that in the final phase Bosnia-Herzegovina would disintegrate into three parts, with the Serb part joining with Serbia, the Croatian part with Croatia, and the Bosniak part would constitute a small Bosnia, which would inherit the international legal continuity of today's Bosnia-Herzegovina? Such an outcome would demand the creation of ethnically clean territories by so-called humane resettlement, that is, that "humane resettlement" finishes the job that this dirty war has not finished, in which three-fifths of the Bosniaks have been expelled from their homes, two-fifths of the Croats, and approximately 300,000 Serbs.

3. We can ask one more question, which many probably do not want to hear, namely: Will the international community accept the logic of Serbian neofascism, which from the beginning had as its objective to create ethnically clean territories, and will it accept as the only realistic solution the further resettlement of people, which will result in ethnically pure areas and the division of Bosnia-Herzegovina? It is questionable whether the United States and Germany, which have consistently opposed such a logic so far and have refused the Russian-English-French plans, will accept that logic. It seems that they will, according to French President Chirac, who says that the United States, by accepting the French plans, is turning their proposal on the division of Bosnia-Herzegovina into the American plan.

Final Agreement by the End of the Year

Nevertheless I estimate that by the end of the year there will be a final solution, that is a political compromise, because we have simply come to the point where all the crucial players want this dirty war to end and do not care to what extent the peace will be a just peace and on what principles, with a political compromise that satisfies the Serbs and the Croats and the Bosniaks only partially. Here are some arguments to support my opinion.

1. Clinton wants, before the presidential elections, to end the war in Bosnia-Herzegovina to prevent his major competitor Bob Dole from scoring major points in the new presidential race, by overturning Clinton's veto on the unilateral lifting of the arms embargo on the Bosnian Government. Clinton is now in a situation where he has to do something efficient to protect the Bosniaks from the greater Serbian aggression, because otherwise the House and the Senate will overturn his veto and overthrow his policy. That would be a triumph for Bob Dole, who demands the lifting of the arms embargo on Bosnia-Herzegovina and the defeat of the Serb aggressor as a condition for finding a just peace.

2. Russia accepts Clinton's initiative, Yeltsin and Kozyrev even see the only hope in the U.S. plan, which

partially satisfies Serbia and saves Slobodan Milosevic from collapse, by which it assuages the criticism of Greater Russian nationalists, who, at the next elections, want to overthrow Yeltsin's policy of cooperation with the United States and the West and turn to a policy of confrontation and conflict. Therefore, although Yeltsin is condemning the NATO air strikes on Serb military targets, it is nevertheless clear that he in fact supports the U.S. initiative and the U.S. "cudgel" to force Karadzic to accept a compromise.

3. The EU is happy that someone else wants to take over the responsibility for Bosnia-Herzegovina, and therefore unreservedly supports the U.S. initiative. [passage omitted]

4. It is clear that Milosevic and Serbia, after "the Croatian Storm," "the Bosnian Summer," and the series of military defeats, particularly after the NATO intervention, favor the search for a compromise political solution. It suits Serbia that not only Russia, England, and France, but also the United States accept Milosevic as a partner in whose hands lie the keys to peace and who can impose the compromise solution on the Bosnian Serbs and stop the war.

Milosevic at the Head of the Criminal Project

[Passage omitted] So, now that he has seen that the situation is serious, Milosevic takes the formal command into his hands, too. A joint delegation of so-called Yugoslavia and the so-called Serb Republic has been formed, which decides by a majority vote, and if the Bosnian Serbs vote against something, since there are six members in the delegation, three from Bosnia and three from the so-called Yugoslavia, and the vote is deadlocked, then Milosevic has the casting vote. It is no accident that as NATO bombed the Serb military targets, Holbrooke was having a friendly conversation with Milosevic for hours, and it comes as no surprise that Milosevic has accepted the U.S. initiative. Of course, Milosevic is going to try to get as much as possible. Milosevic will agree to a compromise because it is the least bad solution for him, because he knows that a compromise is possible only before the presidential elections in America. Since he is militarily and economically weakened, he will have to return more than he thought he would have to.

5. Croatia is in a very favorable situation, perhaps the most favorable. Its economy is the strongest. Militarily, it has grown stronger and Operation Storm has enormously strengthened the nation's victorious mentality and resolve to liberate very soon the rest of occupied Croatia. The position of the Croats in Bosnia is also good, in the economic, political, and military senses. It is clear that without satisfying the interests of the Croats there is no definite solution. Croatia, by accepting in principle the U.S. initiative, holds strong cards in demanding that in the definitive solution crucial Croatian interests have to be taken into account and satisfied, and those are the preservation of the integrity of Croatia and the protection of the interests and equality of the Croats in Bosnia-Herzegovina. Croatia has no reason to refuse talks, but it also has no reason to accept any solution that jeopardizes its vital interests, whether in Croatia or in Bosnia-Herzegovina. It is no secret that from the very beginning there have been different views on the final solution in Bosnia-Herzegovina, so that Croatia has always had an alternative solution. Croatia favors preserving the integrity of Bosnia-Herzegovina as a federation of three equal nations, because the Croats in Bosnia have already organized themselves and they have got strong Croatia behind them, so that nobody would be able to ignore Croatian interests when searching for the final solution. Certainly, the division of Bosnia-Herzegovina into two or three parts is less favorable for Croatia. Meanwhile, in the event that the international community imposes a solution, the strategic interests of the Croatian state, the protection of the interests of the Croatian people in Bosnia, and the equality of the Croats there must not be jeopardized. Those are probably the reasons why President Tudjman and the Croatian authorities supported the U.S. initiative unreservedly, because they think they hold strong trump cards and that they will be able to protect the interests of all the Croats without a further major war. So, Croatia sees the chance to solve the occupation of Baranja and eastern Slavonia in a peaceful way by accepting the compromise on Bosnia-Herzegovina. An advantage can be seen in cooperation with the United States, which wants to create a strong Croatia as its partner in this part of the world. One should not pass in silence over the fact that many in Croatia, in case of the triple division of Bosnia-Herzegovina see a greater Croatia as a reality, because western Herzegovina and western Bosnia would join Croatia. So, Croatia is sure of its strength and ready to negotiate. Because Croatia thinks it can achieve all its essential interests through negotiations, without making further war.

6. In such a situation, when everybody in the world, as well as here in the Balkans, favors finding a compromise solution through the U.S. initiative, it is an open question whether the Bosniaks will accept such compromise, that is whether they are strong enough to reject it, if they do not agree with it. The U.S. initiative in fact, when all the platitudes and packing materials are put aside and when there is a realistic final solution visible, offers a couple of options to the Bosniaks. The first one is the Federation of Bosniaks and Croats on 51 percent of the territory of Bosnia-Herzegovina, which will be in

a union with the Serb state in Bosnia-Herzegovina, with this union having international subjectivity, so that in a certain way the integrity of Bosnia-Herzegovina would be preserved. Of course, this solution is the most that the Bosniaks can get if the war ends and a political compromise is accepted and they will aim at that solution, hoping that the union has as many common functions as possible, to be as little as possible a confederal and formal community. Meanwhile it is hard to believe in the reality of this request, because the Croats in Bosnia accept the Federation of Bosniaks and Croats on condition that there is confederation with Croatia, and the Serbs confederation of their part of Bosnia-Herzegovina with Serbia, and it is clear that such a state could not survive for long and it would very soon break into two parts.

The second option for the Bosniaks is that the Federation of Bosniaks and Croats constitutes itself as a state, which will in a confederal way be connected to Croatia, because it is clear that the Serb part will very soon join Serbia.

The third option is that the Federation collapses and that the 51 per cent of the Federation territorially divides between the Croats and the Bosniaks. The result of that would be that the Bosniaks would establish a small Bosnia as an independent state and the Croatian part would join Croatia.

I do not see that the U.S. initiative, built upon a political compromise that has to take into consideration the proportion of power and factual situation, can offer the Bosniaks any kind of fourth option that is realistic and acceptable to the others. The fourth solution would be the Federation of Serbs, Bosniaks, and Croats, three equal nations in a decentralized Bosnia-Herzegovina organized into cantons, which would be a state, which would not fall apart, and which would not be a temporary solution. Meanwhile, for such a solution, one needs the consent of at least one of the other two nations, that is, at least the consent of the Croats and their readiness to continue the war alongside the Bosniaks until they force the Serbs to accept such a solution.

Now we have come to the point where there is also a great responsibility of the United States and the international community as a whole. There is a dilemma: Should one accept and legalize a reality that was created by a neofascist policy to create a greater Serbia? Should the results of genocide be legitimized? Should one accept the principle of removal under the name of humane resettlement? Should one not only accept, but also encourage a solution that, by dividing Bosnia-Herzegovina, destroys many principles of the democratic world order and creates a precedent that could cause chaos in the world?

I know that in politics interests are what counts, not moral principles, and that in a conflict between interests and moral principles interests are always victorious. Therefore, although I still firmly advocate the stance that some moral principles should not be trampled underfoot while searching for peace in these areas, I am sure that the politicians will find 100 reasons to convince us that we should wink at that and accept realistic solutions, even though they violate the principles upon which democracy, freedom, and the equality of people and nations is based. Despite this reality that I have presented to you, which will probably end in an unjust peace and the division of Bosnia-Herzegovina, I am still convinced that it will not be a lasting peace and that it will not be possible to keep it, and new complications will arise. Those are the reasons that I still think that the only plan that can bring a just peace and stability is one that opposes Milosevic's neofascist logic of creating ethnically pure states and the alleged impossibility of the survival of multicultural, multiconfessional, and multinational environments. So, even if some other logic and some other compromised interests should win, one should never give up the struggle for democratic principles and a just peace.

Those are the reasons why I have been trying to point out, in the general enthusiasm over the U.S. initiative, its questionability and the necessity to remove all its weak points, which, under the name of reality, in fact accept Milosevic's greater Serbian strategy as a model for searching for the final solution.

The solution is not in the division of Bosnia-Herzegovina; the solution is in preserving its integrity!

Zagreb Radio Reports Details of Geneva Agreement

LD0809154795 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1500 GMT 8 Sep 95

[FBIS Translated Text] We have learned that the basic principles for Bosnia-Herzegovina have been agreed upon at the meeting of the foreign ministers of Croatia, Bosnia-Herzegovina, and the so-called Federal Republic of Yugoslavia in Geneva. The Croatian delegation is headed by Foreign Minister Mate Granic. Tihomir Vinkovic reports from Geneva:

[Vinkovic] In line with the agreement on the basic principles, Bosnia-Herzegovina will continue to exist as a state within its internationally recognized borders. It will consist of two entities: the Federation of Bosnia-Herzegovina, established by the Washington agreement, and the Serb part.

The Contact Group's plan, with its 51 to 49 percent territorial ratio, is still the basis for the internal territorial division, with possible changes on the basis on another agreement.

Both entities will continue to function in line with the existing constitution and possible amendments. Both entities have the right to establish parallel special relations with neighboring countries, respecting the sovereignty and the territorial integrity of the state of Bosnia-Herzegovina.

Full elections will be held under international supervision. Human rights, the freedom of movement and return of refugees must be guaranteed. Possible disagreements will be solved through an arbitration system.

To sum up, the basis for Bosnia-Herzegovina has been agreed upon.

The issue of the occupied area of Croatia is still being discussed at the American mission, but the stance of the Republic of Croatia is well known. The occupied territory must be reintegrated into Croatia's constitutional and legal system, and there cannot and there will not be any discussion about it. If Belgrade recognizes the Croatian state and its internationally recognized borders, it would facilitate a quick and peaceful reintegration. This will probably not happen today because the topic of discussion is to agree on principles. We need to wait and see whether the principles for Croatia are agreed upon today or not.

Granic on Reintegration of Eastern Slavonia

'Serb Attempt To Buy Time'

LD0809181595 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1700 GMT 8 Sep 95

[Report by Tihomir Vinkovic in Geneva on work by the Croatian, Bosnian, and Yugoslav delegations with recorded remarks by Mate Granic, Croatian deputy prime minister and foreign minister]

[FBIS Translated Text] More than half of the negotiating time was today spent discussing the issue of peaceful reintegration of the still occupied territory of the Croatian state. The Republic of Croatia advocates a peaceful solution with immediate talks, mediated by the international community, and it wants the problem of Croatia's occupied territory to be part of the package on a peaceful solution to the conflict in southeastern Europe. This would fend off the Serb attempt to buy time.

The text of the agreement was drafted at the highest level and with the mediation of U.S. Assistant Secretary of State Richard Holbrooke, and it was to be a step forward toward a peaceful solution. But Belgrade's Foreign Minister Milan Milutinovic today subsequently requested a joint statement with the Croatian delegation, which was obviously intended to alter the original version of the text. The Croatian delegation rejected this.

Mr. Granic, the Republic of Croatia can under no circumstances abandon the plans for the complete reintegration of the occupied territory.

[Granic] That is our fundamental demand and we will never give up on it. On the contrary, we want to solve it very quickly. This is one of the basic reasons why no agreement was reached today. We do not want, and will not allow any procrastination.

In other words, during this overall peace effort, initiated and headed by the Americans with full support of the European Union and the Contact Group members, we would like to find a solution for the peaceful reintegration of eastern Slavonia and western Srijem and Baranja. This is our fundamental demand, and it is very positive that the joint statement by the cochairmen of the meeting today said that this problem is part of the overall peace solution. We welcome this.

Accord Must Include Eastern Slavonia

LD1109073395 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 0700 GMT 11 Sep 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Croatia will not accept any global agreement that does not include a solution for eastern Slavonia, Baranja, and western Srijem, Deputy Prime Minister and Foreign Minister Mate Granic stressed last night upon his arrival on a three-day visit to Washington. The Republic of Croatia clearly said that it wants to see a solution for the reintegration of the occupied area before the expiry of UNCRO's mandate, that is, before the end of this negotiating round, Minister Granic said.

He added that Serbia is trying to link lifting the sanctions with a solution for Bosnia-Herzegovina, whereby it would try to avoid recognizing Croatia. If it is not included in the solution package, Croatia warns that it will have to resort to its own solutions, Granic said. He added that the Republic of Croatia will continue to take an active part in the talks and demand that the problem of the reintegration of eastern Slavonia, Baranja, and western Srijem should be treated with highest priority and be solved as part of the definitive solution for Bosnia-Herzegovina.

RSK, Croatia on Eastern Slavonia Cease-Fire

LD0809165795 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1609 GMT 8 Sep 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Vukovar, 8 Sep (TANJUG)—The joint sector commission of the Republic of Serb Krajina [RSK] and the Republic of Croatia met at the Nemetin border crossing near Osijek today. It was agreed at the meeting that both sides would continue to observe the cease-fire agreement, and that new measures aimed at reducing tensions would be undertaken by both sides, the command of the Slavonia-Baranja Corps of the Serb Army of Krajina said in a statement.

It was concluded at the meeting, which was also attended by representatives of the UN forces in Sector East, that both sides largely observe the obligations undertaken during previous meetings, the statement said.

It was agreed that schools on both sides would reopen on 11 September, and that both sides would not shell schools.

Major General Dusan Loncar, commander of the Slavonia-Baranja Corps, led the RSK delegation, which also included deputy commander Colonel Milan Peric and the commander's adviser, Major Zoran Vranesevic.

Major General Djuro Decak, commander of the Osijek operational zone, led the Croatian delegation.

General Pierre Peters, head of the UN negotiating team for former Yugoslavia, and General Van de Weghe, the UN commander for Sector East, attended the meeting.

The next meeting of the joint sector commission is scheduled for 11 September. Journalists from both sides will be allowed to attend this meeting, the statement said.

Sarinic: FRY Army Must Withdraw From Sector

LD0909144195 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 9 Sep 95

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Hrvoje Sarinic, chief of staff of the president's office, and Yasushi Akashi, the UN secretary general's special envoy, have made statements for the press after their talks. Andjelko Perincic was there:

[Perincic] [Passage omitted]

[Begin Sarinic recording] What Mr. Akashi did not say is that I had asked them—as part of the process of reducing their forces, 12,000 will gradually be reduced to 2,000 as you know—to vacate a number of buildings, especially here in Pleso [military airport], since we need the hangars for Croatia Airlines and for our forces, etc. I think we shall find common ground here; otherwise our situation would become very difficult. [end recording]

[Perincic] Asked what would happen to the Yugoslav Army now deployed in the occupied parts of Croatia, Akashi briefly replied that his mission has no direct reports to prove this army's presence in the area. It is perhaps on the Serbian side of the Danube. Sarinic responded to this with these words:

[Begin Sarinic recording] I cannot agree with His Excellency Mr. Akashi, as we have reports on this indeed. Of course, their role is different, but you can rest assured that in all our future talks, we shall insist on the withdrawal of the Yugoslav Army from this sector and at the same time of all persons who have arrived there but do not have Croatian nationality or any grounds for acquiring this nationality. [end recording]

Martic Views Causes of Fall of Krajina

AU1009155795 Banja Luka Srpska Televizija in Serbo-Croatian 1910 GMT 7 Sep 95

[Fuller version of interview with Krajina Serb leader Milan Martic by Marinko Ucur on 5 September on the "Vidik" program; place not given—recorded; originally filed as AU0609120495]

[FBIS Translated Text] [Ucur] Mr. President, we still have not heard a reliable and comprehensive analysis of the cause of the fall of the Republic of Serb Krajina [RSK]. Still, let me begin by asking you the inevitable question: Why did Krajina fall?

[Martic] I think it is most important to say that the Republic of Serb Krajina fell the moment the all-Serb, i.e. the global Serb policy fell. Let me remind you that we used to be a part of Yugoslavia and how it was created. It is common knowledge that it is a result of a will and self-determination of nations and that they could leave Yugoslavia following the same principle. We were a constituent nation in former Croatia and we had a right to self-determination, just as the Croats did. Those who broke Yugoslavia did their best to create the present situation. Unfortunately, the global policy of Belgrade did not pay enough attention and the policy that initially satisfied Serb interests made a 180-degree turn and this resulted in what we have now.

The latest aggression against the Republic of Serb Krajina and its fall are linked to the events in western Slavonia. Let me remind you that those who today ask me why the population was not evacuated, attacked me then, too. They blamed me for western Slavonia, asking me why the population had not been evacuated. In this case, with Croatia enjoying the support of NATO forces—the NATO air forces destroyed our relay system, telecommunications, information system, at the crack of dawn, at 0500 hours—Croatia enjoyed the support of the United States, Germany, Turkey...while we stood alone.

Unfortunately, after the fall of Grahovo and Glamoc, quite a few things started going downhill. I do not want to blame the Serb Republic, for we know what problems it had at the time, that it was attacked by the Muslims and the Croats from all sides, and that they could not help us. Serbia, on the other hand, could and should have helped us. The statement by the FRY Supreme Defense Council in itself was disastrous and when we heard it.... Personally, I was shocked. I thought Zimbabwe said it, not our mother country. They said they were concerned, that they recommend that the two sides refrain from combat activity, they just repeated the phrases that were repeated every day. The people felt abandoned. This is the main cause: the feeling that they were abandoned and that they must save their lives. I think that is the main reason: the feeling that nobody can help you, that 200,000 people are facing 4 million well-equipped and armed Croats helped by NATO forces, the United States, Germany, Turkey, etc. I did not want this. I repeated many times that I never wanted to be [word indistinct] of my nation. What happened happened.

[Ucur] It is still not clear who gave the withdrawal order and what were the relations between civilian authorities and the RSK Army General Staff in those last days and hours.

[Martic] You see, there are many calculations today. I know why. First of all, the regime in Serbia sets a pace in order to eliminate the regime's responsibility and guilt, to blame somebody else, to shift the responsibility. Though I think that all our citizens, every person who knows our circumstances know that the cause lies in what I talked about in the first part.

As regards the withdrawal order, I only know of one. The order that civil defense evacuate the population from parts of Dalmatia, from towns, from Knin, Benkovac, Obrovac, Gracac, Korenica, i.e. from the municipalities of Lika and Dalmatia, that were under constant shelling. The order was to pull out the civilians, not soldiers, and get them deeper into Krajina, to villages, but not farther than Srb and Lapac. However, Srb and Lapac are not in Sumadija, they are in Krajina. However, there was an exodus. The people went farther than that. I believe Serbian propaganda was quite influential here, as it kept repeating, every day for almost a year, the same phrase that there is no alternative to peace, that it is better to have culture than war, that they have peace there. And the people simply went there where they were offered peace. Unfortunately, a few of them stayed in the Republic of Serb Krajina and a great number went to Serbia.

As regards the military order, for the time being, I have no such order, although some soldiers and low-ranking officers say that such orders were indeed issued. [as heard] But if such orders were issued, they will eventually surface, for they cannot be hidden. But for the time being, as I said, I have no such order, military order to the army to withdraw from their positions. The army was ordered to regroup, to protect itself from further penetrations of Croatia. Only in a very few places did Croatia manage to penetrate our lines. But it would be dishonest for me to say that I know of such an order.

[Ucur] A question for you as head of state and supreme commander of the armed forces: Why were missile systems not used as the means of repulsing the aggression, when the RSK Army had them?

[Martic] Our military plan obliges us to use our missile systems deep into the enemy territory and they were indeed used in many places, i.e. it is not true that they were not used. Why were they not used to target Zagreb and other towns? We will know that when we complete the analysis, although even now there are certain indications as to why that was not done, although my order was unambiguous. On the whole, we used whatever missile systems we had to target other towns.

[Ucur] Tell us, is it at all possible that the Serbs will return to the Republic of Serb Krajina, and if so, what methods will be used, considering the fact that the ustasha authorities have almost completed destroying the traces of Serb existence on the territory of Krajina?

[Martic] Frankly, I am not optimistic that it will be solved by political means and that the people will return to the Republic of Serb Krajina in that way. The behavior of the Croatian authorities, the behavior of their legislative body, the parliament, which passes laws which have nothing to do with civilization clearly show that there will be no coexistence and that people are not likely to return somewhere where they will be slaughtered and undergo great ordeals. Anyway, they passed certain laws in order to prevent people from coming back.

The only possible way for us to return to the territory of the Republic of Serb Krajina is to make a radical change in the all-Serb policy, i.e. that today's capitulatory policy of Belgrade makes a 180-degree turn and that all Serb lands are joined. We must make a political program, a well-devised plan, after which we can regain Krajina just as we lost it, i.e. by military means. I said on several occasions that I do not recognize capitulation.

I think no inhabitant of Krajina has a right to recognize the capitulation of Krajina, for we have lived there for centuries, for a millennium, and we do not have a right to forget that. We must fight and return to our homes even if it takes 50 years. The Croats could wait four or five years to do what they did. I do not see why we should not do the same.

[Ucur] Many people mention the infamous Z-4 Plan now and say it is a grave mistake that it was not accepted at the time. What do you think?

[Martic] You see, we are in a less than enviable position now, myself included. However, I am surprised that people say that the Z-4 Plan was the only solution for us and that the people of Krajina would be preserved if we had accepted it. I will speak frankly, though some may resent it. When we decided not even to consider the Z-4 Plan—even the Serbian regime agreed to that, i.e. President Milosevic himself—they were all ecstatic about the fact that we would not even consider it, even my venerable ministers who went to Belgrade and now say something like that for various reasons. I would not even dream of commenting on their statements. I must say that even now, in this situation which is far from perfect, I would never accept that plan for it does not ensure the existence of the Serb nation. Anyhow, we see what happened to the wretched people who stayed in Krajina, how they are treated by the Croatian authorities, that old men and women are brutally killed every day, that they are shot in the back, that they are tortured, etc.

[Ucur] Looking back on the support President Milosevic gave to your election, how would you account for his energetic opposition to you, especially at the time when you supported the Serb Republic and the concept of unification with the Serb Republic?

[Martic] [sighs] I have never been one of those who enjoyed preferential treatment. When I was supposed to run for president, persuaded by my friends, soldiers, fellow workers, and others who trusted me, believed that I would never betray national interests. [as heard] I do not know what President Milosevic and the Serbian regime thought about me. Perhaps they believed I was one out of hundreds of their puppets who can be manipulated, brainwashed into behaving as they want. Naturally, I am not one of them. The moment I sided with the Serb Republic, I did not do it for personal reasons, although I have a very good relationship with its leadership, Karadzic, Krajisnik, and Mladic. I have a very good relationship with all of them. But even if I do not, I would do the same, because I was representing the interest of my people, not my own. I think that what was then offered to the Republic of Serb Krajina was absolutely unacceptable and I have no regrets about doing what I did. I would do the same in a similar situation, because I believe that what Belgrade and the world wanted us to do was not acceptable to the Republic of Serb Krajina.

[Ucur] Those who are well-versed in the Krajina authorities contend that, after the aggression, there has been no change in the relations between its leaders, which was a fatal factor that the Croats counted on. Would you comment on that?

[Martic] You see, about those rifts, I must tell you one thing. Unfortunately, those rifts were imposed on us by Belgrade, both in the Serb Republic and in the Republic of Serb Krajina. For almost a year, from the moment when I did not agree to badmouth the Serb Republic leadership, we saw headlines about rifts, backbiting, nothing good was ever written about Krajina. In other words, rifts were promoted and imposed, though they were actually without basis.

[Ucur] Can the scenario of the fall of Krajina be repeated in eastern Slavonia and how much do you, as head of state, know about the situation there?

[Martic] It is my sincere wish that eastern Slavonia, western Srem, and Baranja do not experience what we did. I sincerely hope that Yugoslavia, since it did not defend and help us, will give a helping hand to the people there. I have never been a localist in my views. I find it extremely important that the Serb nation is preserved at least in those areas. I believe that, after what happened to the Republic of Serb Krajina, the leaders of the FRY and Serbia will decide to defend that part and I hope they will. In other words, I want this part to be preserved, I do not want them to share the destiny of the Republic of Serb Krajina.

[Ucur] How advanced is the project of transformation of the RSK Army and what is the goal of the project?

[Martic] The goal of the project, as I said in the introductory part, is to recreate the RSK Army that would, together with the Serb Republic, first defend the Serb Republic and then, when the time is right—and it does not have to be in five, or 10 days, it could last for years—go back to the Republic of Serb Krajina, where we belong. At this point—and this is what I take upon myself to do—we must form the first liberation brigades. We have already done that. We already have fine soldiers. Of course, we have many problems, from basic needs to finding accommodation for men, refugees, for they all have their problems. Most of them did not manage to take anything from their houses. When we solve those problems—and we are just about to do that—I believe that a large number of soldiers that are now on the territory of the Serb

Republic will place themselves at our disposal and that we will be a mighty army. Initially, we will have liberation brigades. We will seize certain zones, I will not say which ones at this point. However, we are prepared to defend the Serb Republic just as if it were the Republic of Serb Krajina. Do not get me wrong, I do not want to see the fall of the Serb Republic, but to defend it sincerely—and I claim we have fine soldiers and do not want to explain the causes of the Krajina again—and I think that the Serb Republic has reason to expect that the Croats and the Muslims will not succeed when confronted by our soldiers.

[Ucur] Do you have information about the treatment of Krajina refugees in Serbia, their number, accommodation, and how much do you know about the efforts of local authorities to feed the refugees their own version of the truth about the fall of Krajina?

[Martic] From what I could hear, the people in Serbia—and I think the Serbs on both sides of the Drina River are the same—did a very good job welcoming our refugees. However, we must understand that they have lived under sanctions for a long time and that they have many problems. Most refugees are staying with their friends, relatives, etc., but those who know nobody in Serbia are the worst off. They live in refugee centers. I can see in the media that the Serbian regime is doing something to find accommodations for them, but I must say that some of those people who went to Serbia now want to go back and come back to the Serb Republic territory wanting to settle here, regardless of their motives, whether they are happy there or not. I am talking about people who do not have relatives or friends there. They are coming back here, to this part of Posavina, to the Banja Luka area, to Prijedor, Sanski Most, and I think that a plan devised together with the Serb Republic authorities will, in the long run, be a good project and permanently take care of those people, at least until we return to the Republic of Serb Krajina. I would like their accommodation to be permanent. Do not get me wrong, I want them to live in acceptable circumstances, somewhere where they could live for a longer period of time. I believe there is enough space here—I spent a lot of time here myself—and that people will be able to find a plot of land and repair empty houses given some material with the consent of political and military authorities, even municipal authorities, to begin a project and try to find homes for most of those refugees. There is a large number of them at the moment. Unverified figures talk about 50,000 to 60,000 RSK refugees presently residing in the Serb Republic.

[Ucur] Another inevitable question in conclusion: Could you describe your cooperation with the Serb Republic authorities, though your previous answer has partially covered that?

[Martic] Let me use this opportunity to thank all structures, from the Serb Republic political leadership, both state and municipal, to the military leadership, police, and all others who gave us a helping hand, especially the citizens. They expressed their solidarity during the exodus of the Serbs, met their Serb brothers in the streets giving them whatever they could. Of course, even before that I had good contacts in the Serb Republic, which I maintain today. I must admit that apart from my service there are no other Krajina institutions here and that my government is practically in Belgrade. The president's service is now acting like a minigovernment and there are no other structures, apart from those in the Red Cross. Of course, apart from our military structures. We have wholehearted cooperation and they are willing to help us, for I believe it is in their interest to help us get back on our feet and that they will help themselves by doing that. I would like to be of some help here, not to be a burden, but to do our best to help the Serb Republic.

[Ucur] Thank you, Mr. President.

Over 1,200 Serbs in Knin Want To Go to FRY

*LD0909100295 Belgrade TANJUG in English
0819 GMT 9 Sep 95*

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Belgrade, Sept. 8 (TANJUG)—More than 1,200 Serbs who remain in Knin and its surroundings want to go to the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, TANJUG learned on Friday at the Krajina documentation and information centre veritas in Belgrade.

Veritas president Savo Strbac said it is not possible to determine the exact number of Serbs who remain in the Knin area, but that estimates are that this figure does not exceed 1,200 and that they will also request emmigration permits from international organizations.

Following Croatia's aggression on the Republic of Serb Krajina, which was under the protection of the United Nations, about 250,000 Serbs fled Krajina on Aug. 4 abandoning their ancestral homes in croatia.

Veritas has also received information that the military court in the Croatian port of Split has brought on trial Serbs captured in the operation and that the first verdicts were made on Wednesday.

Slobodan and Milan Dragic (both 30 years old), from the village of Civljani in the Knin region, who were captured on Mt. Svilaja, have both received five-year jail sentences.

Strbac also announced the latest data on the plunder and destruction of the property and the murder of the remaining civilians. In the village of Atlagic in the Benkovac area which has always been populated only by Serbs, all houses have been plundered and torched, and in the village of Vojvodici at least 12 elderly people have been killed and their bodies left unburied, Strbac said.

In the Kningips factory in the village of Kosovo near Knin, killed were Stevan Beric, 64, and his wife Janja, 62, along with five other unidentified person, Strbac said.

Strbac said that Veritas representatives are trying to find out what had happened to the bodies of seven elderly people who were killed in the village of Gosic, located between Knin and Benkovac.

After this crime was uncovered and after reports about this appeared in the press, the Croats threw the bodies, which had lain unburied for several days, into a truck already containing nine other bodies and drove off in an unknown direction.

According to information received from certain West European countries, Veritas said the bodies were taken in the direction of Knin and thrown into a hole in the ground.

Sarinic, Akashi Agree on Serbs in Knin Barracks

LD0909114795 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1100 GMT 9 Sep 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Hrvoje Sarinic, chief of staff of the president's office, and Yasushi Akashi, the UN secretary general's special envoy, have met in Zagreb to discuss the situation in eastern Slavonia, Baranja, and western Srem, and the problem of refugees who are in the Knin barracks. They were satisfied with the fact that the situation in the former Sector East is gradually settling and that the process of separating troops from the separation line is beginning. [as heard]

As for the Serbs currently in the Knin barracks, Akashi and Sarinic said that an agreement in principle was reached allowing the refugees to leave Knin and the whole of the territory of the Republic of Croatia.

Helsinki Watch Warns of Human Rights Violations

LD0909090095 Belgrade TANJUG in English 0731 GMT 9 Sep 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Zagreb, Sept 8 (TANJUG)—the Croatian branch of Helsinki Watch has warned public opinion that after the passing of the law on the sale of military apartments, Croatia 'has become one of the countries which are grossly violating human rights.' A statement published in Zagreb by the Croatian Helsinki Watch said that the category of second-grade citizens has been introduced by law into Croatian legislation and that the equality of citizens has ceased to exist.

Apartments which were previously the property of the Yugoslav People's Army had to be bought in a 60-day period, while for civilian apartments that period is four and a half years, the statement said.

Citizens are also being humiliated by the regulation that the demand for buying the apartment must be made personally, and not even members of the family or lawyers have the right to do it instead of them, although that means breaking laws, the statement said.

Among tenants with a right to tenure in military apartments who cannot buy their own apartments are those who are suspected in any way of taking part in enemy activity against the Republic of Croatia or those who have avoided to serve in the army. The right of purchase is also denied to their family members, the statement said.

The lawmaker thus makes provision for the housing commission of the Ministry of Defense of the Republic of Croatia to declare tenants guilty of a serious crime without undertaking legal proceedings, the statements warned.

The law, the statement said, is a legalization of the principle of 'collective reponsibility' and Croatia's legislature has thus introduced 'tribal law' according to which all members of a family are held responsible for the unaccepatble action of one member.

The principle of collective responsibility is not known in civilized legal states and runs contrary to the fundamentals of the Croatian constitution, the statement of the Croatian Helsinki Watch said.

Walesa Reacts to Yeltsin's Remarks on NATO

LD0809214695 Warsaw PAP in Polish 1817 GMT 8 Sep 95

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Torun, 8 Sep (PAP)—Speaking at a meeting with local government and social and economic organization representatives in Torun today, Lech Walesa said that he will not allow anyone to interfere in Poland's affairs. To a question concerning Boris Yeltsin's warning about "a change of strategy toward NATO," the president replied: "As long as I am president, I will pursue an independent policy."

"I am not afraid of Moscow, and I will not be afraid. I will never endanger the homeland, I will never lead it into a dangerous situation. I can talk like this, and do it; and I will do it. These threats, these words, can be spoken, but in reality it is a different world. Yeltsin, Russia, despite everything, is not the greatest power, and we should not talk in these terms. If, at the end of the 20th century, someone issues threats, it is not to be taken seriously. We will not run away from Moscow, from Ukraine, or from anyone. My concept is to increase the West's achievements, so that something confrontational cannot be regenerated in Europe," he stressed. [passage omitted]

Reaction From Prime Minister

LD0809215495 Warsaw TV Polonia Network in Polish 1730 GMT 8 Sep 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Commenting on today's remarks by Russian President Boris Yeltsin attacking the proposed expansion of NATO, Prime Minister Jozef Oleksy said that no statements by the Russian side could influence Poland's strivings for integration with NATO, which are not open to discussion. The prime minister expressed the opinion that Yeltsin's statements are an element in the preparations for the election campaign.

Oleksy: Poland Can Feel Secure

LD1109110295 Warsaw Polskie Radio First Program Network in Polish 1005 GMT 11 Sep 95

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Before flying out to Brno, Jozef Oleksy said that, together with the other prime ministers at the CEFTA [Central European Free Trade Association] summit, he would be considering how to treat Friday's statement by Russian President Boris Yeltsin, that NATO's acceptance of Central-East European states threatened the outbreak of a third world war. He also wants to talk to the prime ministers of the NATO states about this issue soon.

[Begin Oleksy recording] [Passage indistinct] I don't think Poland will change anything in her approach to her own strategic interests. We have always stressed that Russia must be seen as a partner in Europe and a participant in the processes which will take place here. Poland never formulated anything that would mean excluding Russia, or wanting to isolate her, but equally we have invariably made our view known that the views of other countries and their opinions cannot decide on what Poland wants and what Poland thinks are her important strategic interests. [passage omitted] [end recording]

Prime Minister Jozef Oleksy expressed the opinion at the same time that, despite Boris Yeltsin's threats, Poland can feel secure for the time being.

Comments by SLD Leader

LD1009112495 Warsaw Polskie Radio First Program Network in Polish 1005 10 Sep 95

[FBIS Translated Text] According to the left-wing presidential candidate Aleksander Kwasniewski, Poland will have trouble entering European security structures and coming to an agreement with NATO if it does not normalize relations with Russia, Ukraine, and Belarus. Kwasniewski thinks that, for Europe, the argument for Poland's rapprochement with NATO will be normal relations with Russia.

In the Democratic Left Alliance [SLD] leader's opinion, we must make use of the contacts, which are too few now, and explain Poland's intentions. Poland wants to have security guarantees not against Russia, Kwasniewski said. We have to convince Russia of our peaceful intentions.

Cabinet Approves Steps Adjusting Poland to EU

WS1109104595 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 6 Sep 95 p 9

[Report by Jedrzej Bielecki: "Harmonization of Polish Economy With the EU; Tasks for Each Ministry"]

[FBIS Translated Text] *On 5 September, the Council of Ministers approved an annual report on steps which have been taken to adjust the Polish economy and legal system to the EU requirements; it also accepted a schedule which lists measures which should be taken over the next two years. Last year, as a result of implementing the policy of adjusting our law to the EU, we passed 32 new laws and prepared 28 draft laws; we also accepted six amendments to laws, as well as approved 30 ordinances. Over the next few months, the government is going to take a look at more than 200 issues related to this process.*

In 1992, during the debate on ratification of the European treaty, the Sejm obligated the government to submit annual reports on progress in the process of integration with EU. The document, consisting of over 100 pages and prepared by Minister Jacek Saryusz-Wolski, was the second such document that was submitted to the Sejm. In the immediate future, it will be examined by the Commission for the European Treaty.

The schedule for the next two years will constitute the bases for the work of 27 ministries and central offices. The document was updated with additional proposals, submitted to the states associated with EU during the summit meeting in Cannes last June and included in the white book.

Poland in Europe 2000

The document obligates the Central Planning Administration [CUP] to work out within the next few months the country's land use management project which would be consistent with the EU document entitled Europa 2000. The CUP will also be responsible for further development of interregional cooperation on the Polish-German border. The primary task of the Finance Ministry will be to continue the restructuring of the banking and insurance sectors; the ministry will also have to strengthen them before the liberalization of capital movement from EU, which is expected at the end of the century. The policy of privatizing state-owned banks will be particularly helpful here. Over the next few months, the finance minister will also adjust the Polish budget categories [Polska klasyfikacja budzetowa] to EU norms. The National Bank of Poland will concentrate on implementation of the European Treaty provisions in such areas as countering money-laundering, liberalization of the banking law, and further extension of the scope of the convertibility of the zloty. The Foreign Economic Cooperation Ministry, aside from measures aimed at establishing a zone of free trade with EU, will make greater efforts than it has so far to set up a system to protect Polish companies from external protectionist measures.

Battle for Markets

One of the main directions in the policy pursued by the Industry and Trade Ministry will be continuing the process of adapting Polish norms and quality systems to those binding in the EU. The ministry will also work on laws on consumer protection and on the State Trade Inspection; it will also prepare an ordinance on conditions of implementing contracts.

The Ministry of Agriculture and Food Economy will help Polish producers gain greater access to EU markets; in addition, it will also work on development of agricultural market institutions. Aside from that, it will be tasked with adjusting the forms of state intervention in the agricultural market, as well as the Polish system of agricultural produce standardization, to EU practices. In the next few months, the Ministry of Transport and Maritime Economy will take further steps aimed at liberalizing transport fees in the traffic with EU; another task of the ministry will be creating barriers to prevent transport companies from dominating the Polish market. Also conducive to integrating the Polish transport system with the EU system will be restructuring and privatization of the transport companies which are still owned by the state (especially the Polish State Railroads). Also, this integration will be facilitated by the establishment of a highway network and by modernization of regional airports.

New Laws

Over the next two years, the Communications Ministry will start working on a new communications law and, in line with the approved "Strategy of Telecommunications Development until 2000," it will continue to support modernization of the Polish communications network and efforts to incorporate it in the European and global net. A very important element of enhancing the competitiveness of the Polish economy and of changing its structure before it is entirely opened to competition on the part of EU will be the program of privatization and restructuring of state-owned companies, which is being implemented by the Privatization Ministry. The Anti-Monopoly Office is working on a law on promotion and protection of competition, whereas the Office for Public Orders will prepare a law which will fully adjust our public order system to the EU law. This year and next the National Education Ministry will take steps to sign an agreement on the equivalence of higher education diplomas with a number of EU states, such as the Federal Republic of Germany, Spain, Greece, and Austria. Amendment of the law on higher education will make it possible to set up subsidiaries of foreign higher education schools in our country. We will also have a new system of grades and examinations, adjusted to EU principles. The most important task of the Labor Ministry in the period in question will be to amend the Labor Code and the law on employment.

The government does not aspire to adjusting the Polish economy to EU requirements over the next five years. As Minister Saryusz-Wolski said, the first set of measures is to be implemented before the beginning of the negotiations in late 1996 or early 1997, and the second set—during the negotiations. The most difficult decision will be made in the so-called period of transition, when Poland is already a member of EU.

Daily Comments on French Nuclear Test

WS0809133495 Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 9 Sep 95 p 1

[Commentary by Marek Gladysz: "Explosion for Peace"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Nuclear warheads provided an effective means of threatening the former Soviet Union. No one can exclude the possibility, however, that in 10 years or so a small Middle Eastern state supporting terrorism will have its own atom bomb. What then? Will the West not have anything to scare it with?

North Korea already poses a threat, and the PRC, bursting at the seams, has never ceased nuclear testing. We can hear a choir of moaners that the uniting Europe is incapable of creating a credible defense system. Nothing can be done without the Americans, who play the role of the world's gendarme. The problem is that the United States is no longer keen to play that role.

The hard-line French stance on the conflict in the former Yugoslavia and on nuclear testing are targeted at strengthening the position of Paris in Europe. Chirac wants to demonstrate that France is capable of carrying out independent policies, turning a deaf ear to worldwide protests.

A new series of tests will allow simulating nuclear explosions in scientific laboratories. If need be, this will lead to building minature A-bombs that will talk reason into states supporting terrorism.

At the same time, however, it is difficult not to agree with French Prime Minister Juppe when he accuses the Australians who launched the wave of protests of hypocrisy. The kangaroo country is depriving concerns from the banks of the Seine River from lucrative contracts; it intends to boycott Bordeaux wines, but it continues to sell France the uranium it needs for the production of nuclear bombs.

It is worth noting that Greenpeace and the environmental organizations have protested nuclear tests in China far more feebly.

Prime Minister Oleksy on Governing, Election

WS0809131995 Warsaw POLITYKA in Polish 2 Sep 95 pp 1, 8

[Interview with Polish Prime Minister Jozef Oleksy by Janina Paradowska and Jerzy Baczynski; place and date not given: "From the Front Page to the Last"]

[FBIS Translated Text] [POLITYKA] Mr. Prime Minister, today, as we conduct this interview, it is exactly six years since Tadeusz Mazowiecki was appointed prime minister. Do you think that you are continuing to implement the change which began then?

[Oleksy] I certainly do—as far as the model of the economy is concerned. I am simply implementing what was begun. The direction of the market transformations is obvious; the pace of implementing the reforms can be discussed, but the direction cannot. The same goes for building democracy. It is not without fondness that I think about that government—also the stress I was going through then.

[POLITYKA] Why were you under stress then? Were you afraid that you might be called to account for what you had done in the past?

[Oleksy] It was anxiety caused by waiting. It was not fear, because I personally did not feel I was to blame for much. The problem was that no one knew how the processes which had just started would develop, in which direction they would go, and how forcefully they would be implemented. Today it is far easier to continue the policies. Democratic mechanisms were established, foundations for economic transformations were built, great changes in the legal system were made.

[POLITYKA] Now we are drawing close to yet another anniversary—15 years have passed since Solidarity ["S"] was set up. How do you evaluate this period of "S" today?

[Oleksy] It was a big movement, a social upheaval; however, the process of creating a new vision of the state began rather late in "S." This is not an accusation. It was extremely difficult to prepare scenarios. I do believe, however, that "S" has turned a strange full circle—from socialism to socialism. The question remains: What remains within this circle today? This is the only thing that can be evaluated.

[POLITYKA] What does remain?

[Oleksy] Aside from all the resentment, criticism, or acts of calling people to account for their deeds, there is the state, which is coping with the difficulties of the transformations; there is an open country, a country with opportunities for development, even though it was predicted that we would lag behind, degraded, and that we would remain in the hallway of Europe for ever. Poland will not be able to regain the image which it gained—thanks to "S"—for a short period. Within this circle, however, there are lots of achievements. I am now thinking especially about democracy, which is already a permanent feature of our political life. Democracy made it possible for me to become prime minister, and before that, Sejm speaker. This was also possible partially thanks to Mazowiecki's team, thanks to his restraint and lack of obstinacy in politics.

[POLITYKA] Let us, therefore, take a look at how our democracy works... Is the government taking part in the presidential campaign?

[Oleksy] I treat this issue rather formally. This means that the ministers and the entire apparatus of the state must not wage the election campaign; they are not members of campaign staffs. They do, however, have a duty to provide the candidates with information on regions and on the state.

[POLITYKA] Nonetheless, they do engage in certain kinds of political activity. Today it is generally believed that the fact that Social Security Agency [ZUS] Director Anna Bankowska acted so kindly toward senior citizens was just an element of campaigning for Aleksander Kwasniewski.

[Oleksy] I firmly deny this. The concept presented by Anna Bankowska was not the first on this issue. It actually appeared earlier, as a result of analyses carried out by the Social Insurance Fund; it was also a result of opinions which were voiced when it turned out that the wage increase index was only minimally below the point which would have made valorization possible. I know this and this is why I disagree with the opinion that it was just an element of the campaign, even though I do realize that people can think of it in such terms. I am not in a position to tell anyone what they should think; however, all I can do is keep on explaining things and telling what the truth of the matter is.

In my leftist heart, I supported this initiative as well. It was only when I received the results of analyses of the budget condition that I decided that it would be impossible to implement the idea, even though I realize what the senior citizens' situation citizens is like. After all, we are a center-leftist government and I cannot suddenly, for the duration of the election campaign, rid myself of the social sensitivity which must characterize this government. If only the budget would allow it, I would immediately respond favorably to an initiative like this one. Retirement and other pensions will certainly be valorized in December. However, I will definitely be in favor of raising salaries in the public sector; these salaries, in real terms, decreased (which cannot be said about senior citizens). In addition, the previous governments made concrete commitments regarding salaries for public sector employees. The government did this under the pressure of strikes; nonetheless, it did make the commitments. I believe that even if governments change, they must feel responsible for the commitments of their predecessors as well. This is a credibility issue of the government of the Third Republic.

[POLITYKA] Perhaps the government is not participating in the election campaign, but it is bound to be a subject in it.

[Oleksy] This campaign is not really in full swing yet; it will pick up speed later. I expect that as a result of oversimplifications, typical of all campaigns, the two years during which the coalition has been in power will be reduced to the several months of my government.

[POLITYKA] Which is not unusual, because it is a government of the same coalition.

[Oleksy] I will loyally defend the entire period, if a certain level of loyalty toward me is maintained. For example, it sometimes happens that this government and its problems are evaluated separately from the problems which the previous government was aware of and with which it did not have time to deal. For example, the revenues of the state budget are 7 trillion zlotys [Z] smaller because the draft law on commercialization was submitted to the Sejm after a one-year delay, and it was envisioned that the budget's revenues would be bigger because the dividend would be higher. Privatization of the tobacco industry was halted, and revenues yielded by that source might have come to the budget early this year. The National Bank of Poland [NBP] will provide Z4.5 trillion less to the budget. Implementation of the National Investment Funds [NFI] program has been considerably delayed. There were other failures as well.

[POLITYKA] Exactly why did you call the proposal for postponing the presidential elections "unreasonable"? No matter what you say, it was certainly favorable to the government—it gave more time to carry out the reforms.

[Oleksy] At the moment when it was being discussed in public, it was undoubtedly an unreasonable proposal. It was already time to announce the election date. Such a proposal can be discussed far ahead of the elections. There are certain schedules in democracy which must be adhered to.

[POLITYKA] Do you, then, intend to take any action against Ambassador Stanislaw Ciosek? Some rightist parties even demand that he lose his post.

[Oleksy] No, I do not. Ambassador Ciosek confined himself to expressing his own opinions, and every citizens has a right to do this. There is no evidence that he took any action to make such a decision. Everyone who accused him of trying to cause a coup (and some, quite ridiculously, even spoke about Watergate) must bear in mind that there is a long stretch between expressing a view and implementing it. There is nothing to talk about, really.

[POLITYKA] Now, talking about the election campaign, would you say that the recent developments concerning the Armed Forces have been caused by the fact that the campaign is already underway?

[Oleksy] I still believe that these are incidents related to two issues. First, few people remember the heated disputes over subordination of the Armed Forces and the General Staff to the civilian Ministry of National Defense, which is, after all, part of the government, as well as the disputes over practical, everyday roles that the commander in chief of the Armed Forces should play. It must be remembered that the Constitution did not specify these issues very clearly. In the closed Army life, all this was probably expressed particularly forcefully. Second, it is an objective fact that the technological needs of the Armed Forces, especially requirements regarding modernization and training, which arise from our aspirations to join NATO and aspirations related to our importance in the Partnership for Peace program, are not being satisfied. Thus, all this could result in pressure on the highest leadership to bring the needs of the Armed Forces closer to the spotlight. In a civilized world, however, even the most acute internal pains of the Armed Forces do not have the right to find an external, political vent. In our country, unfortunately, there is a conviction that such a right is vested directly in the military. Now, if to this we add the consent, even unspoken, on the part of the commander in chief of the Armed Forces, and the well-known position of the defense minister in the government, as well as [his] subordination to the president (exercised informally), then I am not really surprised that there came a moment when someone felt free to present political ultimatums. I believe that this incident is seen from the wrong point of view—it is seen almost exclusively from the viewpoint of current political games. I can see a danger, which can then become a permanent threat, that it may be possible to openly demand something from the state at any moment just because the needs of the Armed Forces should be satisfied. It is tragic and pathetic that it is not just the Armed Forces that are acting this way, i.e. not considering the entire society and the capabilities of the state.

[POLITYKA] Thus, you reject the simple, widespread reasoning that Minister Okonski and General Wilecki are not playing on the same team as the government?

[Oleksy] Perhaps they do not feel really dependent on the government; after all, it is another center of power, which is hostile toward this cabinet, and offers them encouragement. Perhaps this is why they do not feel strongly motivated to subordinate themselves to anyone in the government. I am not sure it is the defense minister that is playing the main role here. This is the dramatic aspect of the Polish, Falandysz-ized [reference to former Walesa aide Lech Falandysz who was generally believed to be stretching the law] democracy. This is also a real problem of a government artificially divided into coalition and presidential spheres.

[POLITYKA] It seemed that the moment you became prime minister, this division actually ceased to exist.

[Oleksy] Before the government with the three so-called presidential ministries was formed, I made an agreement on principles of cooperation, and now we are really putting this agreement into effect. I cannot accuse Minister Okonski of being disloyal in the most recent dispute as well, even though he has found himself in a difficult situation, between the devil and the deep blue sea.

[POLITYKA] We remember our first interview with you, Mr. Prime Minister, and your assurances that the government would speak as one. Before that we witnessed a conflict between Deputy Prime Minister Kolodko and Minister Miller—a conflict which has not died down yet; recently we have heard statements by Minister Chojna-Duch or ZUS Director Bankowska which raised a commotion; there were also false statements by Minister Okonski, which you corrected on television later. There is more than one voice all the time.

[Oleksy] The conflict between Minister Kolodko and Minister Miller surfaced when the difficult issue of social insurance reform was being discussed. There are many aspects there—aspects related to the substance of the matter, to the characters of the two politicians; however, there is also another aspect: the two ministers are too eager to comment on each other's activities in the media. There are even jokes that, in the end, both will be carried to a session of the Council of Ministers on stretchers because they will run into each other rushing to be on television. Of course, one can and should laugh now and then; however, I can also see how detrimental these disputes are to the image of the government and, therefore, I am holding tough talks with both ministers. Let us leave aside the words that I sometimes use to expostulate with them.

[POLITYKA] What about the conflict between Deputy Prime Minister Kolodko and the NBP head? Is it a difference of character, as it is sometimes described? Or is this dispute related to politics, to the substance of the matter?

[Oleksy] This is a dispute at all levels and I believe that the NBP lacks self-criticism where its condition and manner of functioning are concerned. The deputy prime minister has presented many well-founded arguments, because the NBP's balance sheet, which we have discussed recently, was—as it was presented—unacceptable and had to be corrected quite considerably. The first version was rejected by the government, and one of the reasons for that was that the bank's revenues were actually bigger than was indicated in the balance sheet; therefore, the budget revenues provided by NBP were smaller. Incidentally, the NBP did not object to having to draw up another version of the balance sheet. In addition, all this is happening in a situation when the bank's chairperson, Hanna Gronkiewicz-Waltz, is running for the presidency and I do not know whether the balance sheet contained merely ordinary mistakes. I have the right to have doubts about this.

[POLITYKA] Now, while we are reviewing problems in the functioning of the government, I should add one more thing: There are reports that you are dissatisfied with the work of the Office of the Council of Ministers [URM].

[Oleksy] There are many things that I am dissatisfied with. There are too few experts in the government. The URM still resembles a "dump" of many previous governments, including the communist ones. No one has undertaken the task of thoroughly reforming this office as yet. There were only people who started it, but then "sank" into this structure themselves. I am not getting the services from experts my political imagination tells me I should be getting. It seems to me that it will be necessary to demand an improvement in this area more firmly. There is a conception of reform and of establishing a prime minister's chancellery and setting up a ministry of administration. We will see. Minister Borowski [URM head] and I are thinking about what solutions would be best here.

[POLITYKA] Now, what about the reform?

[Oleksy] Appropriate draft laws are being prepared and consultations are already under way. Nonetheless, I do realize that this reform will be extremely difficult. It may make the work of the state administration more difficult for a few months. However, there should be no delay.

[POLITYKA] The Oleksy government has been governing since March. What have you managed to achieve and what have you failed to do over that time? According to the opposition, your government is detrimental to Poland.

[Oleksy] Opposition politicians should think carefully before they make statements or evaluations. After all, they may also come to power one fine day. Quiet and honest evaluation, without the "general reform-related" impatience and opposition bias will show that the balance sheet is very positive indeed. The government has been working for five months, and it was formed after a period of an acute political crisis, which we have already partially forgotten. The warm-up lasted for a very short time, and as early as April we had a work schedule through the end of the year and an initial plan outlining our activities beyond that. Please note what sort of charges are being leveled at my government. First of all, there are opinions that the coalition is a threat to Poland because our priority ought to be maintaining quick economic growth. I am very sorry, but let me point out that this is exactly the primary goal of my government and of the coalition, and there is visible evidence to prove that. This goal, this plan is being put into effect, even though, of course, I am not going to give all the credit for this to my government.

Others say that a grave threat to the structural changes is the halting of the privatization processes. Indeed, I do believe that the previous government did slow privatization down, which was dangerous. Therefore, as soon as I assumed office, I resumed the sector privatization and now we are implementing this process, despite objections on the part of our coalition partners as well. The time to set up the Polish Oil Company is drawing near; after a year's delay, the NFI program has finally gotten off the ground and the sale of share certificates will begin in November. The previous government did not deal with the reprivatization law for a year and I am really not to blame for the fact that it is being discussed at the Constitutional Tribunal right now. I believe that it is a step forward, even though the Sejm made some amendments to it which the Tribunal is examining now. Furthermore, all the demands and proposals submitted by "S" and other social partners were thoroughly analyzed and information was sent to all the parties involved. Currently we are working on a report on social effects of the transformations. We will also undertake a project of drawing up a report on the condition of the state.

[POLITYKA] One of the most serious charges is halting the process of decentralizing the state.

[Oleksy] This is a charge I consider to be partly true. A draft law has already passed through the first reading at the Sejm. Its adoption will be a huge step forward in the self-government reform; it will also be a breakthrough in establishing the second level of self-government. The next issue at hand is economic self-government, which is very controversial, yet I have finally cut short the debate that has been going on for a year and a half, and the government has taken an official stance. I am for passing the law on employers as soon as possible because the current laws were passed four years ago and completely depreciate the representatives of employers in relations with trade unions. We have reached an agreement with the Sejm Presidium that a debate should be launched on a draft law on voivodes and changes in the state administration system which provides for the liquidation of a part (unfortunately, too large a part) of special administrations [administracje specjalne]. We, thus, cannot be accused of being idle and hampering reforms. I also wish to recall that this cabinet tackled the issue of social security and the health care system, which had been hugely neglected in the past. I could cite a long list of draft laws that have been or are being developed.

There are also activities which will bear fruit only in the long term. Such is the case with the priority issue of the security of our citizens. The government will not relent in its efforts. I was overly optimistic in my assessment of the problem. The surplus of currency reserves poses a problem for us. No conceptions have been formulated—apart from changing the exchange rates—which would allow us to use those reserves to a larger advantage. The NBP is not quick enough and is incapable, in my view, of thinking about the currency reserves in terms of a market economy. The government is doing everything the economy needs, everything the reforms need.

[POLITYKA] In your most recent speech to the Sejm, you spoke about a sphere that remains untouched, namely agriculture. It seems nothing is likely to change, we do not even hear of any concepts for reforming the agrarian system being developed.

[Oleksy] It is true there are no new developments in this area. I do claim, however, that this is not so much the fault of the government as of the coalition as a whole. This is a fundamental strategic issue of a political nature and the government may hardly be expected to come forth with any preliminary concepts. There is also another problem—we need a strategic project for the internal adjustment of Poland to our future membership in the EU. [Foreign] Minister Bartoszewski spoke about this, but the topic was not taken up, not even by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

[POLITYKA] Why not?

[Oleksy] Partly because we are overburdened with current problems, conflicts, and crises which do not contribute to creating a favorable atmosphere for taking up such complex issues; partly because our visions of what future membership in the EU really means are becoming fallacious. I consider this to be a very dangerous phenomenon as it may lead to waning support for our participation in West European structures. Nothing is being done by the mass media, the intellectuals, or government circles to start a discussion on the challenges that membership poses. I am aghast to see that people in Poland believe our membership is either an issue of the distant future, or is not very significant, or brings only benefits. That is a rather reckless approach.

The Polish Peasant Party [PSL], which should be the most likely to come forth with a project initiative, clearly seems to be defending the Polish peasant within the current agrarian system. This may be well one of the major reasons why Polish agriculture has not been reformed. The PSL is part of the governing coalition and I have a right to expect it to come forth with proposals for reform or to initiate a debate on these issues in the rural communities. Such initiatives, however, are either lacking or not dynamic enough.

[POLITYKA] Agriculture is thus becoming a huge challenge for the coalition, which is not sufficiently coherent, anyway.

[Oleksy] There is much speculation about the condition of the coalition; there are probably theories of its deterioration from within, but on all the major issues the coalition has acted in unison and effectively. This is the joint success of deputies from the Democratic Left Alliance [SLD] and the PSL. There are, in fact, differences of opinion on a number of issues. They have always been there, but, generally speaking, never have they had a negative impact on the unity of the coalition. Although there is the controversial issue of, for instance, the powiats [administrative units to comprise several gminas] or the Concordat. Not political tactics but imagination and responsibility for wielding power should decide about the unity and existence of the coalition.

[POLITYKA] What is the stance of your cabinet on the Concordat?

[Oleksy] The year 1995 is coming to an end and a decision will have to be made. For the SLD, the issue of the Concordat is also a struggle to promote an image of the left and an attempt at diagnosing its constituency. These two factors were the reason for the SLD's staunch resistance and the unreadiness to resolve the problem positively; hence, the current entanglement from which there seems to be no escape. There is a deadline for settling the issue; therefore, it has to be taken up again.

[POLITYKA] The Concordat will definitely be one of the elements of the election campaign. Let us, therefore, return for a while to what you expect in the coming elections. Any conflicts pertaining to platforms?

[Oleksy] Apart from Kwasniewski, Kuron, and Zielinski, I see no candidates prepared to enter a poised discussion about Poland, which is so direly needed. What will the axis of this campaign be? On the part of Lech

Walesa, it will be an all-or-nothing battle by all possible means, probably often poorly done. The campaigns of the remaining rightist candidates will be dominated by settling accounts with the past, anticommunism. They will probably be devout at times.

[POLITYKA] Who do you think will become president?

[Oleksy] Considering the current Constitution and the new one being drafted by the Constitutional Commission, the future president should be evaluated from one point of view—his ability to cooperate. The current Constitution delegates executive power to the government. And who will win? I do not rule out the possibility that Kwasniewski may win in the first round. If the campaign is carried out in an atmosphere of constant attacks and squabbling, the social impulse to vote for this particular candidate—reasonable, cultured, and calm—may take on mass dimensions. This will be a vote for personalities, not for platforms. Behavior, looks, and general impressions will count. I do admit the possibility that Kwasniewski may not become president, although I do not share the view that whoever confronts Kwasniewski in the second round will defeat him. That is a stereotype.

[POLITYKA] Do you not fear that Kwasniewski's possible victory might entail a large-scale social conflict?

[Oleksy] Such a conflict is possible, but I do not consider it inevitable, despite the fact that even very serious politicians speak of so-called black scenarios, of thousands of people taking to the streets. I do not even want to consider such a possibility. What may actually happen? There is a demonstration. The demonstrators go as far as occupying the Office of the Council of Ministers, and what then? I will move office to the Sejm, but I will not resign. The government will continue its activities. I do not know what could happen next; the formation of a street cabinet? That is absurd for today's Europe, and considering our current position on the continent. I do not exclude, however, the possibility of early parliamentary elections. This will depend largely on the new president and political talks.

[POLITYKA] Your interview will appear in the 2,000th issue of POLITYKA...

[Oleksy] I know, and I am very happy to appear in the anniversary edition. POLITYKA played a huge role in my political education. I began reading POLITYKA when I was at university—it has been nearly a quarter of a century now—and even though so many new publications have appeared since then, I still remain a faithful reader of POLITYKA. Naturally, I do have my favorite authors and columns, I do not agree with everything you write, but I can say POLITYKA is the only paper I read from the front page to the very last. I know your weekly intends to change its image and increase its volume. I shall welcome the changes gladly, although I may not have time to read a full 100 pages. But I will remain faithful to POLITYKA.

[POLITYKA] Thank you.

Walesa Names Jerzy Gwizdz To Head Campaign

WS0809143295 Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 8 Sep 95 p 2

[Report by Igor Zalewski: "Gwizdz Heads Walesa's Campaign Committee"]

[FBIS Translated Text] *Jerzy Gwizdz, Chairman of the Non-Party Bloc in Support of Reforms [BBWR], will head Lech Walesa's election campaign. Thus far, Lech Walesa may count only on the support of this group, rebelling activists of the National-Christian Union [ZChN], and the minuscule National Democratic Party [SND].*

BBWR Chairman Jerzy Gwizdz became the head of Lech Walesa's campaign committee yesterday. The committee is to form next week and Gwizdz is to announce its composition on 12 September.

Over a week ago rumors spread that former Foreign Minister and cofounder of the Committee of 100 Andrzej Olechowski is to head the incumbent president's campaign. Olechowski himself, however, denied the reports.

BBWR, established by Walesa before the 1993 elections, is the most serious group supporting the current president. The BBWR politicians hoped to encourage the Patriotic Camp to take part in the presidential campaign. The major forces within the Camp—apart from BBWR—are the Confederation for an Independent Poland [KPN] and Romuald Szeremietiew's Movement for the Republic. These parties are willing to support Walesa only under the condition he would be the only rightist candidate in the elections. KPN advocated the idea of holding a "conclave" for the rightist hopefuls.

Gwizdz, however, rudely sneered at the idea. "The president will not participate in a meeting with people who are brain damaged." Thus the BBWR chairman cut short a discussion after the fiasco of the primaries held by St. Catherine's Covenant. Neither are the remaining candidates very eager to take part in the "conclave," and it seems it will never be held.

Gwizdz sternly announced that his group can support only Lech Walesa and that other candidates are completely out of the question. The new head of Walesa's campaign committee, seeing the indecisiveness of his allies from the Patriotic Camp, announced that the grou may have to suspend activities for the duration of the campaign. The National Council decided yesterday that BBWR will withdraw from the activities of the Patriotic Camp. The Council also invites all groups wishing to support Walesa to cooperate within joint campaign committees.

The problem is, however, that thus far Walesa has no dedicated supporters on the right. Apart from BBWR, he has the support of 44 ZChN activists (among them Henryk Goryszewski and Jan Lopuszanski) who refuse to heed the decision made by party leaders to support Hanna Gronkiewicz-Waltz, the current president's most dangerous rival. Walesa is also supported by the minuscule SND. According to "Panorama" [television newscast], SND activists and chief editor of MYSL POLSKA Boguslaw Kowalski may be appointed as the spokesman of Walesa's campaign committee.

The ZChN decision was a painful blow for Walesa. He had been trying to win that party's support for months. He showered it with nominations (he appointed Marek Jurek, for instance, to head of the National Radio and Television Council), and even publicly considered whether to become a ZChN member.

Editor Comments on Campaign, Division of Society

WS0809145895 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 8 Sep 95 p 3

[Commentary by Chief Editor Dariusz Fikus: "Waiting for a Compromise"]

[FBIS Translated Text] A fierce presidential campaign is currently getting into full swing. In reality, it began several months ago, even though the list of contenders for the highest state office was far from complete and the date of the elections was officially announced only the day before yesterday. Over the last few days, Stanislaw Tyminski and Lech Kaczynski joined the group of 30 hopefuls. The hitherto intellectual achievements of the campaign are meek. Not much is said about the platforms; there are many more personal attacks and reciprocal hostilities. Grzegorz Sieczkowski wrote about this yesterday. Everything seems to indicate that the campaign will be destructive and dramatic.

Our society is divided. There are people who feel comfortable with the new market economy. In this group are the well educated and the young, who find it easier to adapt to the demands of tough competition. However, there are also vast groups of people who are visibly handicapped, not only financially but also socially. There are the dissatisfied rural communities, the underpaid doctors, teachers and scientific researchers, the frustrated old age pensioners and former employees of no-longer existing State Farms, the coal miners without any future. Material status is not the only line of division. There are also other frustrations: lack of a sense of personal security, a bright outlook for the future, the ability to adapt to the conditions of modern life, etc.

All the aforesaid factors affect individual and group attitudes to the presidential elections. Meanwhile, the campaign does not address these issues at all. Instead, it is clearly dominated by ideological, or even doctrinal problems. Many people currently feel the division to be unquestionably bipolar: the "red" heirs or old communists themselves on the one side, the "black" representatives of the right who clearly sympathize or are closely affiliated with the Church on the other. These two forces are going to stand opposite each other and fight a fierce battle. Such a division does not bode well. Bringing such issues as abortion, religion in schools, sexual education on the one hand, and the defense of Communist rule in response to the condemnation of the era of the Polish People's Republic, on the other, also does not offer any opportunity of finding a modus vivendi in our public life. The opinions on these issues are rock solid and seem to be splitting our society more or less in half. Dialogue thus becomes futile and no arguments can be heard.

It is obvious that the majority of citizens above the age of 50, who were raised during the centrally planned economy era, do not want the days of their youth and adolescence to be fully condemned. They got their education, earned their money and—whether willingly or not—made many concessions in those times. It was the secular Catholic activists who called upon the people to vote for the National Unity Front in 1957 as the best choice of the time. In 1980 at Jasna Gora, [Primate] Stefan Wyszynski placated the increasingly restless workers. Why should they currently sweep out the whole period of their youth? They are impermeable to the propaganda of the right.

On the other hand, those who are against abortion have already presented all their arguments. Therefore, this fundamental and, no doubt, ideological dispute will not persuade feminists to change their minds, neither will it convince them that safe sex is the devil's invention. I suspect that a vast majority of Catholics cannot even imagine what the devil looks like.

What arguments should be used? First of all, fires should not be kindled. We should seek issues that could join us even though they divide us at present.

We are curious about the future of our country, what it will be like and how we will live in two, three, ten years, not about personal issues. We expect that now, since the date of the elections has been announced, the candidates will finally start talking sense.

Privatization Ministry To Issue Tenders

WS1109072895 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 4 Sep 95 p 9

[Article by Ada Kostrz-Kostecka: "Ministry of Privatization in a New Role; Companies Through Tenders"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Besides the work carried out in order to reorganize the Privatization Ministry [MPW], other solutions are sought which would lead to increased efficiency in privatization processes. As RZECZPOSPOLITA was informed by Privatization Minister Wieslaw Kaczmarek, he would like to restore the importance of the Ministry's regional offices in conducting some of the privatization processes, as well as initiate a new capital privatization path—the tender.

These regional offices would be responsible for making sure the investors fulfill their obligations, as agreed to in the privatization agreements. The second goal, which will lead to lessening the workload of the Ministry's Department of Ownership Control, is authorizing the regional offices, through their employees, to represent the Treasury in companies, including participating in the General Assembly of Stockholders.

Starting 1 January 1996, decisions concerning privatization which are based on Article 37 of the Privatization Act (accepting the founding organ's motions) will be made in regional offices (and not in Warsaw). This means decisions will be made closer to the companies the motion pertains to and to the initiators submitting the motions. Generally speaking, today this is the basis for the privatization of smaller companies, as opposed to capital privatization, and this means that usually the voivods are the founding organs.

According to an MPW analysis, 60 percent of the 1,364 direct privatization applications submitted in the period between 1 September 1990 and 30 April 1995 were forwarded from voivodships where regional MPW offices are located, and only 6 percent from voivoships where there are no regional offices. The remaining 34 percent of the projects were prepared by government offices, which perform the role of founding organs. MPW accepted 1,126 applications, including 59 percent from voivodships with regional offices, 6 percent from voivodships without regional offices, and 36 percent from government offices. By the end of the first half of this year, 985 privatizations of this type have been finalized, including 58 percent from the first group, 6 percent from the second group and 36 percent from the third.

Based on this analysis, according to Minister Kaczmarek, it seems that about 40 percent of these type of privatizations would have to be conducted by the ministry, and 60 percent in regional offices.

In the first place, the regional offices will be authorized to make decisions concerning the transfer of the company's property to a Workers' Partnership lease and the so-called quick sale, and then, in the final stage—the contribution of the company's property as shares to the partnership. The authorization to make such decisions would shorten the time of decisionmaking.

This would then change the role of the Ministry, which, according to Kaczmarek, should concentrate on capital privatization, mass programmes and perhaps—reprivatization—if such an act is passed, (here the regional offices would also play a certain role), as well as executing such ownership rights which will not be delegated to regional offices.

A new capital privatization method is yet to be launched in the fourth quarter: the tender. The ministry would like to prepare the necessary legal regulations by September.

This privatization method will be new only in practice; in the legal sense, such a possibility existed earlier. A tender being one of the three capital privatization methods provided for by the Privatization Act of 1990, (a public invitation to negotiate, which means looking for a strategic or financial investor, public offer—i.e. listing the company on the stock market, or inviting a tender). However, this privatization method has never been used.

The ministry wants to prepare tender procedures for groups of companies using the experience from the so-called quick sale. The tender should concern blocks of shares of the company. According to the minister, this could be a good way to sell companies which, for instance, are not profitable and are owned singularly by the Treasury. The so-called remainders, that is, the leftovers of capitally privatized companies still owned by the Treasury, could also be sold in such a way, as well as shares of companies that were created as a result of bank settlement procedures. The Treasury shares in such companies vary between 25-70 percent.

However, in order to begin, tender procedures have to be defined, for example, the size and form of remiting the deposits.... However, the most important is defining the "marginal conditions", as, according to W. Kaczmarek, only the share price can be the subject of the tender, and such elements as, for example, the size of the investment, ecological portfolio, or social obligations cannot be included. Therefore, these procedures could not be changed, for example, the level of employment has to remain the same for 18 months and 1/4 of the offered company's profits have to be earmarked for proecological investments. In this way, a tender could be conducted for several companies operating in different fields, which—according to W. Kaczmarek—would increase the efficiency of privatization in a statistical sense. This would also mean a definite income for the budget.

Foreign Minister Interviewed on Yugoslav Crisis

AU1109103095 Bucharest ROMANIA LIBERA in Romanian 2 Sep 95 p 3

[Interview with Minister of Foreign Affairs Teodor Melescanu by Roxana Badralexi; place and date not given: "In Two Weeks the Dilemma Will Be Over—Peace in Bosnia or War in Europe?"]

[FBIS Translated Text] [Badralexi] Mr. Minister, why did you, along with your Bulgarian and Greek counterparts in Greece, recently adopt that joint declaration in Greece on lifting sanctions against Serbia?

[Melescanu] The goal of the meeting in Greece was to discuss some infrastructure projects of interest in our bilateral relations, but also on a regional level, in the context of our European integration. Certainly, the meeting of three foreign ministers of countries neighboring the former Yugoslav area could not ignore the current crisis, especially since we believe that this crisis reached its crucial moment. Well, we share the opinion that this crisis can very quickly—in two to three weeks—develop toward a peaceful solution, first of all, as regards Bosnia-Herzegovina, or develop toward military actions becoming permanent and even intensified, something that would very seriously effect, not only the former Yugoslav area, but also the neighboring countries. Proceeding from this belief, we held some talks that, to my satisfaction, took shape in the document that you have mentioned, in which we reasserted the particular importance that all three of us attach to the continuation of efforts toward finding exclusively political solutions to the Yugoslav crisis, correlated also with lifting the embargo and economic sanctions.

[Badralexi] Should we understand that the satisfaction derives from the success of an initiative that belongs to you?

[Melescanu] Yes. We advanced the proposal to sign this document believing that currently, when one can perceive a certain intensification of military actions, the three neighboring countries' insistence on and support with actions aimed at peaceful, negotiated solutions is extremely important. Moreover, we rejected the idea of using force in resolving this conflict.

There Is No Connection Between Our Recent Initiative and Moscow

[Badralexi] In specific terms, why did you think that it would be in Romania's interest to support lifting the embargo against Serbia?

[Melescanu] Our primary interest is to find a negotiated solution because, regardless of what is going to happen in the Yugoslav area, the only way to reach a solution is through negotiations. Hence, no matter how long it is going to be postponed, this will be the outcome. And we believed that the sooner the better. Many lives would be saved and the danger of Lebanonizing the Balkans would be eliminated. In this context, Greece, Bulgaria, and Romania decided to support the current peace initiatives. We mentioned in Ioannina three of these initiatives. First of all, certainly the initiative of the EU; second, the recent American initiative—the Washington Administration has been extremely active lately—to solve the conflict; and third, the proposals that have been advanced by the Russian Federation. The idea stressed by us was the need to find solutions as quickly as possible to lift the embargo and economic sanctions, a need connected with progress achieved on the path to finding peaceful negotiated solutions.

[Badralexi] Could we say that Romania supports today an older initiative advanced by Moscow?

[Melescanu] There is no connection between our recent initiative and Moscow. Lifting the sanctions is one of the measures that can be found in the EU's proposals and in the recent American initiatives, and it was taken up by Moscow as well. Lifting the embargo should not be a unilateral act, it must be a decision to be adopted by those who instituted the restriction. Certainly, we wish for it to happen as soon as possible. But you are right, some news agencies made, prior to the Ioannina meeting, allusions similar to those made by you. I think that these are sheer speculation.

[Badralexi] What do you think, how much weight will the initiative of Greece, Bulgaria, and Romania carry?

[Melescanu] I believe that it will be interpreted as concrete support granted to current peace initiatives from countries that are profoundly affected by the embargo. My belief, completely shared by my colleagues, is that it is possible to find solutions in the next two to three weeks.

[Badralexi] However, if this solution cannot be found, what is the real danger posed for Romania, and not only for our country? I am asking this because, although in an abstract way one speaks about danger, nobody is really aware of it, about how it would affect us.

[Melescanu] The risk for the conflict in Bosnia to become permanent and expand is real. Attracting Serbia in this whirlpool might lead to a qualitative change of the confrontation, a total change in its intensity, when the sides start using very modern battle devices. I am thinking of missiles, planes, and resorting to broad use of weapons with wide-range power of destruction. One can easily understand from all this what the risks are for us. You realize what such a type of war would mean a war in which nobody can guarantee that things will stay under control or limited to the former Yugoslav area. The neighboring countries in Central Europe, such as Italy, Austria, Hungary, and Romania, as well as the Balkan countries are also in danger. The second very serious danger refers to economy. Any intensification of conflict would turn this region, for any foreign investor, into a zone of conflict, not to mention the danger of having the Danube blocked, having roads blocked....

Even If Something Is Very Difficult, It Matters How Much It Costs

[Badralexi] And, to move to another issue, could you tell us how do you think it is possible that the military potential of this area has been perpetuating for so long; where did they get money and weapons to fight for so long?

[Melescanu] I would not involve myself too much in the external factors of the conflict. However, one should not forget that, in any event, Yugoslavia used to be, until recently, the fifth military force in Europe. And second, Yugoslavia was one of the countries that worked out the concept of "the defense of the entire nation" and one of the countries that implemented this idea. Thus, it happened not only at the ideological level, but also in practice. Just think of World War II, the Stalin period, and even more recent periods. If you think that the strong point of this defense, with a very large amount of production facilities, was Bosnia, you will start putting together a picture. But there is something else as well: the embargo, apart from the political pressure it represents, mainly affects civilians. I assure you that the limited resources that existed there were directed mainly toward military goals.

[Badralexi] Do you believe, as everybody else, that there was also an external support for the war so that it could continue?

[Melescanu] It is difficult for me to refer to an external organized support. However, I wish to tell you that there are very many business people and companies whose sole ideal is profit. And, sometimes, during discussions that I held with colleagues from various countries, all of them told me the same thing: certainly, it is very difficult, but what really matters when you want to obtain something is the price. Nobody told me that it is impossible to obtain something. They just told me that it is very expensive. Everywhere .

If Fuel Has Been Exported, Logically, It Occurred With the Participation of the Western European Union Observers

[Badralexi] Mr. Minister, since we are talking about the embargo, let us refer also to "Vacaroiu's containers." If a serious investigation were to confirm that the daily ROMANIA LIBERA was right, what would be the consequences at an international level of this act of violating the embargo?

[Melescanu] I do not think that we can talk about consequences for Romania because we have to proceed from a real fact: the Romanian Government has observed the embargo. I am not aware of any situation or discussion about the possibility of not observing the embargo.

[Badralexi] Nobody has said that the government, in its plenary meeting, would have made such a decision.

[Melescanu] If it were discovered that what you have mentioned is true, the obligation of the government would be to take immediately adequate penal and civic responsibility measures against whose who are guilty of violating the embargo, according to the decision made by the same government.

[Badralexi] However, the prime minister of Romania himself is involved in the current case.

[Melescanu] I must honestly tell you that I rule out such a possibility. However, if it is revealed that certain economic companies are guilty of violating the embargo, immediate measures will be taken against them. This means that not only will our credibility not diminish, but, on the contrary, it will increase. However, I would like to remind you of something very important. It is not only we who monitor the entire operation of embargo observance. One of the most important teams of international observers of the Western European Union is in Calafat. Colonel Vincenzo Basso, the chief of the mission, in a recent interview expressed an excellent opinion about cooperation with the Romanian Army in implementing the embargo.

[Badralexi] Excuse me, but the problem should not be approached in this way, because the export of fuel oil mentioned by my newspaper was carried out with the approval of whose who instituted the embargo and who, it seems, were too trusting.

[Melescanu] Even in this case, the observers should have known it. Thus, if something happened, the logical conclusion would be that it was also done with their participation.

[Badralexi] I suggest that we return to the recent past. How can you explain the gaffe of the European

Parliament which made Hungary win the case against Romania in a moment that we could call delicate?

[Melescanu] One cannot talk about winning a case. The European Parliament was simply forced to make a decision on the basis of some information that was not correct.

[Badralexi] Who can force such a body to take hasty decisions?

[Melescanu] This body also works on the basis of certain data that it receives. And the data that was available to the European Parliament, incorrect data, made it adopt a certain position.

[Badralexi] I suppose that you know what you are talking about; however, if it is indeed so, it means that this body did something stupid, something that resembles the Romanian Government's stupidity when it proposed privatization to the people's companies which, when they were established, had already been private. How can the European Parliament do such a thing?

[Melescanu] It can do it very well, as can the Romanian Government as well, as anybody who works on the basis of information, which is not always of the best quality, can do it.

[Badralexi] Would you say that it was a sign of incompetence?

[Melescanu] I would say that it was a sign of lack of rapid reaction. Without finding excuses for anybody, and mainly for ourselves, I would say that the procedure of endorsing a decision, very quickly during the last day of the parliamentary session and on the basis of some documents received by some of the European parliamentarians, is very dubious. However, this is not important. Important is that the judicial and moral principle of listening also to the other side was not observed. We were not able to come up with our data, and the parliament did not deem it necessary to request information on that issue from us as well.

[Badralexi] It was clearly the case of pressure having been applied that succeeded in winning, at least at that time. But do you believe that Romania could make a European forum grant a vote in its favor under similar conditions?

[Melescanu] It is difficult for me to answer such a question, but I believe that we are capable of reaching a correct decision eventually.

[Badralexi] In other words, do you believe that the forum will reconsider its decision?

[Melescanu] Absolutely. We are not in a position to be judged by somebody and maybe even be ill-treated. We are part of these fora.

If Hungary Requested Visas for Romanians, I Would Feel Frustrated

[Badralexi] And, in order not to depart from the issue, in what stage is the treaty with Hungary currently?

[Melescanu] We have reached a point that we have not been able to overcome. We are aware of the fact that what we are negotiating must be accepted by the parliaments of the countries involved. Thus, it is evident that we will have to reach a reasonable compromise, otherwise it will not be ratified either by our parliament or Hungary's parliament.

[Badralexi] What happens if this reasonable compromise is not found and you do not sign the treaty with Hungary?

[Melescanu] This treaty has been turned into an issue of its own, and maybe it has been normal to be so. I would like to say that Hungary, for example, has no treaty with Austria, but nobody can say that relations between Austria and Hungary are not cordial relations. Or with the Czech Republic....

[Badralexi] No, but relations between us and Hungary are not always cordial.

[Melescanu] Certainly, in our case the treaty is an important issue and is regarded mainly as proof of our capability to reach a certain compromise. However, the new element that has come up after the meeting in Bucharest with Mr. Laszlo Kovacs, Hungary's foreign minister, is the agreement by both sides not to turn this treaty into a tragedy, and our major goal must be to take coherent actions aimed at developing relations between the two countries in a spirit of reconciliation, in which this treaty is one of the essential elements. Hence, we have given up turning this document into a "Hamlet" type issue and have tried to bring it down to its real dimensions, namely, that of a very important element, but not unique.

[Badralexi] Tell me, how would you feel if Hungary started introducing visa requirements for Romanians who wish to travel there?

[Melescanu] Frustrated. But I do not think that this will be the case.

[Badralexi] Do you feel any pressure to speed up the signing of this treaty?

[Melescanu] In no way pressure. Maybe friendly... encouragement. There would be pressure if somebody gave you a solution and forced you to accept it. However, when you are encouraged and are just told "I do not know how, but you should sit and talk and find a solution," is something else. I do not look at it as pressure.

[Badralexi] Who do you think is the most important intervention factor in Bosnia?

[Melescanu] The European Union is the most involved and most interested in solving the Yugoslav crisis. In fact, it has also played the role of balancing between the Russian and U.S. positions. On the other hand, the EU will also have a crucial role after the hostilities are over. However, from the point of view of the current situation, I believe that the initiative with the greatest chance of success is the American initiative. This is because the warring sides in Bosnia-Herzegovina have always paid particular attention to the American position and guarantees. Therefore, due to the recent, very active initiatives of the Clinton Administration and through the prestige that the Americans enjoy in the region, I believe that their initiative has the greatest chance.

[Badralexi] And what role will Russia play?

[Melescanu] Probably it will have a very important role together with the United States in ensuring political guarantees for security in the region. In fact, it is in the interest of everybody that Russia be consulted and drawn into the process, with the American side itself attaching a particular importance to this aspect. The tour of American counselor Anthony Lake, that included Moscow as an important point, proves this wish for American-Russian communication and cooperation on the issue of Yugoslavia. No doubt, that due to some historical, ideological, and cultural ties....

[Badralexi] And religious, too? Has this issue come up in Greece for example?

[Melescanu] This issue did not come up directly, but the fact that we share the same belief is a cultural factor that cannot be ignored.

[Badralexi] Is this valid also for Russia?

[Melescanu] I do not think that Russia ignores it either. But for reasons that I have already mentioned, the Russians will always have an interest in this region.

Ethnic Germans Criticize Romanian Education Law

LD0909200895 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 1600 GMT 9 Sep 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Hungarians have protested against the new Romanian Education Law in several towns of Transylvania [Erdely]. In the Harghita County towns of Gheorgheni, Miercurea Ciuc, and Cristuru Secuiesc [Gyergyoszentmiklos, Csikszereda, and Szekelykeresztur] protest forums were held, while in Sfintu Gheorghe a mass rally was organized in protest against the constraints placed on minority mother-language education. In Cluj-Napoca, Oradea, and Tirgu Mures [Kolozsvar, Nagyvarad, Marosvasarhely] the ethnic Hungarians held ecumenical mass prayers to express their insistence on education in the mother tongue.

The body representing the interests of the ethnic Germans in Romania, the German Democratic Forum, has also criticized the Romanian Education Law in a letter sent to the OSCE [Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe] high commissioner on national minorities. According to Forum Chairman Paul Philippi, the German Democratic Forum agrees with the position of the Democratic Union of Hungarians in Romania [UDMR], which holds that the new law provides fewer opportunities for minorities than regulations in the interwar years, or even those during the rule of the communist regime. However, the chairman of the ethnic Germans' body does not approve of the national protest actions of the UDMR.

Lupu's 'Anti-Russian Stand' Hurdle to SRI Post

AU1109133495 Bucharest ROMANIA LIBERA in Romanian 6 Sep 95 p 3

[Unattributed report: "SRI—General Mihai Lupu's Appointment to the Position of First Deputy Director Is Uncertain"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Romanian Intelligence Service [SRI] sources told an AM Press reporter that the appointment of General Mihai Lupu, head of the Division B. Counterespionage, to the position of SRI first deputy director, will not be easy at all. Gen. Lupu comes from among the top cadres of the famous Unit 0110, specialized in countering the actions of the KGB and GRU, the specialized services of the former USSR. "Given Gen. Lupu's well-known anti-Russian stand and also given the pro-Moscow sympathy of some of our current leaders, it is difficult to believe that he will obtain this post, particularly since the electoral campaign is approaching," the quoted sources also mentioned.

Negotiations With Italy To Resume 'Soon'

AU0209085095 Ljubljana Radio Slovenia Network in Slovene 1330 GMT 1 Sep 95

[FBIS Translated Text] The Slovene Press Agency, quoting circles close to the Foreign Ministry, claims that the Slovene-Italian talks on the open issues between the countries will resume soon. The talks in Rome at the end of June did not clear up all misunderstandings. This particularly refers to the Italian stance regarding Slovenia's rapprochement with the European Union, that is, the assurances that Italy will not obstruct this process. The government in Ljubljana believes that our country meets all the formal criteria for the signing of an associate membership agreement, which is also the position sported by the majority of the Union's members and the European Commission. The Slovene Government is expected to discuss the dialogue with Italy and relations with the European Union next week.

Government Concern Over New Refugee Influx

95BA0317C Maribor VECER in Slovene 3 Aug 95 p 3

[Article by Misa Vugrinec: "Aid From Abroad Has Dried Up"]

[FBIS Translated Text] *Because of the situation in Bosnia and Croatia, Slovenia can expect a major onslaught of refugees again; most of those who were here have already left the country; there are about 7,000 of them at reception centers, and about 15,000 staying with families.*

The situation in Bosnia-Herzegovina and Croatia is getting worse, which raises the question of whether a considerable number of refugees will end up in our country again to seek shelter from the maelstrom of the war. The Ministry of Internal Affairs and the government will have to decide on how and whether we will accept them, but the fact is that the present 25 refugee centers, all that are left in Slovenia, are full.

Marjeta Ferlan, deputy director of the Slovene Government's Office for Immigration and Refugees, says that another 21,500 people who fled from Bosnia-Herzegovina still have a temporary home in Slovenia, somewhat more than 15,000 of whom are staying with families, while the rest are at the refugee centers. "The facilities are full," said Ferlan, "and aid from abroad has also completely dried up. To be sure, it is better not to have the kind that was sent recently. Products whose expiration date had passed, obsolete medical equipment, and clothing that we could not even use were sent."

Whereas last January we still had somewhat more than 31,000 refugees here, their number has been reduced by 10,000 to date. "Most of them left for Canada, the United States, New Zealand, and Australia," Marjeta Ferlan said. "Only a few more individuals have come here, to reunite families."

Mirko Jelenic, secretary general of the Slovene Red Cross, emphasized that there was virtually no more aid from abroad. The UN High Commission for Refugees has cut off aid for Slovenia, because it classifies it as a developed country. There is thus no more aid in the form of food, packages, and everything else that the refugees received. For this year, Slovenia received only $600,000 for the families who have refugees, which means that they get about $10 a month. The International Federation of the Red Cross also sent 14,000 hygiene packages.

Aid for refugees has also stopped coming from certain Slovene regions, and in the campaign to collect humanitarian aid that was sent for Slovenes in Zenica, Kakanj, Novi Travnik, Travnik, Breza, Visoko, Vares, Vitez, Zavidovici, and Maglaj at the beginning of the week, the Slovene Government and the Slovene Red Cross collected money for 1,222 family packages. The government contributed 8 million tolars, and the Slovene Red Cross collected 3 million.

We can thus only hope that the situation will settle down and that there will be fewer and fewer people who have to escape from hell.

Federal

Russia's Ivanov Comments on NATO Strikes

AU0909205795 Belgrade Radio Beograd Network in Serbo-Croatian 2000 GMT 9 Sep 95

[Statement by Russian Deputy Foreign Minister Igor Ivanov, following talks with Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic in Belgrade on 9 September—recorded by Belgrade Radio correspondent Jelena Vidic]

[FBIS Translated Text] [Vidic] Igor Ivanov stated that he had held thorough talks with President Milosevic, especially about the results of yesterday's Contact Group session. He continued:

[Ivanov, in Russian fading into Serbo-Croatian translation] We were unanimous in our assessment that an important step toward a political settlement of the crisis had been made yesterday. Certain principles are important for the resolution of the crisis, namely, equal treatment of the two entities—the Serb Republic and the Muslim-Croatian Federation—as well as equal rights in relation to the neighboring countries. Principles which allow that things finally move from a standstill were agreed.

We were unanimous in the assessment that it is inevitable for the progress of the peace process that NATO air strikes be halted immediately. The continuation of the bombing could destroy the previous work of the Contact Group.

I informed President Milosevic about the agreements and future work of the Contact Group. President Milosevic's opinion, which we share, is that if we rely on the results of yesterday's meeting we can soon expect a peace conference on Yugoslavia. I am referring to a proposal by President Yeltsin to hold a conference in Moscow. The earlier the better, Deputy Russian Foreign Minister Igor Ivanov said at the end.

Milutinovic Hails 'Serb Republic' Recognition

LD0809154195 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1438 GMT 8 Sep 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Geneva, 8 Sep (TANJUG)—FRY Foreign Affairs Minister Milan Milutinovic said today prior to the conclusion of the ministerial meeting in Geneva that this meeting, regardless of the fact that it was a preliminary one, was a turning point and in a way was historical in character.

"The international community has at this conference finally and officially fully accepted the equality of both entities in Bosnia-Herzegovina, which directly means the recognition of the [Bosnian] Serb Republic as an equal subject in relation to the Muslim-Croat Federation," Milutinovic said in a statement to TANJUG.

This is also seen in the document adopted according to which Bosnia-Herzegovina consists of the Federation of Bosnia-Herzegovina, based on the Washington agreement, and the Serb Republic, Milutinovic added.

All other principles follow on from this. The most fundamental of the principles, Minister Milutinovic explained, are that both entities continue to live according to their present constitutions, and that both entities have the right to establish speical relations with neighboring countries. This creates foundations for their confederal alliance with Yugoslavia and Croatia.

Finally, Milutinovic added, it is a question of the ultimate territorial division which remains for the next phase of the talks and for the peace conference itself. The basis for agreement here are the well-known parameters 51-49 percent.

This agreement is open to adjustment on the basis of mutual consensus and agreement in accordance with the priorities and need for the integrity of the territory, the Yugoslav minister of foreign affairs said.

"The maps have not been considered, but they will doubtless be different from the maps which have figured so far," added Milutinovic.

The Yugoslav foreign minister said that in the framework of the basic principles, it was agreed that both sides should jointly and reciprocally form specific agencies, the most important of which will be concerned with the formation of a commission for the return of displaced persons, the return of property and fair compensation, and the preservation of national monuments and a system of arbitration.

Particularly important, Milutinovic stressed, are the mutually established commitments of the two entities to hold elections under international supervision and to adopt and apply all international standards regarding human rights and obligations, including the right of freedom of movement and the return of displaced persons to their homes.

The Yugoslav minister of foreign affairs stressed that it is particularly important that all sides agree with these arrangements. This, he said, is promising and there is more hope and optimism that a successful conclusion of the whole peace process can be expected, as well as an end to the war and the beginning of cooperation and life in peace.

China, Russia View Lifting of Sanctions

Beijing To Step Up Efforts

LD0909101895 Belgrade TANJUG in English 0758 GMT 9 Sep 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Belgrade, Sept. 8 (TANJUG)—Chinese Deputy Foreign Trade Minister Shi Guangsheng said Friday [8 September] that Beijing would step up efforts in the United Nations for the earliest possible lifting of sanctions against Yugoslavia.

In a meeting with Yugoslav Deputy Prime Minister Jovan Zebic, Guangsheng said that the Chinese Government devoted great attention to Yugoslav problems and to preparing the ground for the renewal of comprehensive ties with Yugoslavia once the sanctions were lifted.

Guangsheng is heading a Chinese delegation that arrived in Belgrade on Thursday for the signing of a bilateral trade agreement and talks on promoting relations between the two states.

A statement released by the Yugoslav Information Ministry said that the Chinese delegation also met with Yugoslav Trade Minister Djordje Siradovic.

The two sides stressed the importance of intensifying inter-governmental contacts at all levels and contacts between the two countries' enterpreneurs, and said it was necessary to back the founding joint companies, the statement said.

They also agreed to draft a series of other agreements, especially on scientific and technical cooperation, investments and avoiding double taxation, it added.

The two countries will also start discussing barter arrangements for the export of surplus wheat, mineral fertilizers and non-ferrous metals from Yugoslavia in exchange for Chinese oil, and consider other deals as well, the statement said.

Yeltsin Decision Noted

LD0909102095 Belgrade TANJUG in English 0826 GMT 9 Sep 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Belgrade, Sept. 8 (TANJUG)—Yugoslav Trade Minister Djordje Siradovic said Friday the decision by Russian President Boris Yeltsin to ease the sanctions against Yugoslavia was an important political act which carried much weight in economic relations.

Siradovic said the decision had been expected. He said it had been announced during the visit of Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic to Russia and his meeting with Yeltsin.

Yeltsin on Thursday signed a decree on the unilateral lifting of the sanctions against Yugoslavia for humanitarian goods.

Milosevic Congratulated on Bosnia Peace

LD0809163095 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1549 GMT 8 Sep 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Belgrade, 8 Sep (TANJUG)—Members of the Yugoslav federal government today sent a message of greetings to Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic on the occasion of the principles of the peace plan for Bosnia-Herzegovina, adopted today, according to which the Serb Republic was legitimized.

"The legitimization of the Serb Republic is undoubtedly a result of your persistent policy of peace and a patient negotiating process that secured this objective approach by the international community to the warring sides in Bosnia-Herzegovina.

"We wish and we are convinced that the forthcoming international peace conference will reaffirm the adopted basic principles in the interest of all nations and citizens living in this area," the government members said in their message.

Foreign Minister Views Geneva Agreement

AU0809205295 Belgrade RTB Television Network in Serbo-Croatian 1730 GMT 8 Sep 95

[Interview with FRY Foreign Minister Milan Milutinovic by Zoran Jevdjovic in Geneva on 8 September—recorded]

[FBIS Translated Text] [Jevdjovic] Mr. Minister, this Geneva meeting has ended successfully, it seems. Can we hear your assessment?

[Milutinovic] I have to say that it has been very successful, and it has been in a way—to tell you the truth—a crucial meeting. It is hard to say whether it was a historic meeting, but it was close to that since we did manage for the first time after so long to make a serious breakthrough toward a real solution to the problem of the Bosnian crisis, and perhaps later—based on this example—in the other parts in Yugoslavia. However, the main thing is that for the first time the Republic of Srpska [the Serb-held entity in Bosnia-Herzegovina] has been made official as an entity, practically as an existing state. If you look at this very short document closely, it says that Bosnia-Herzegovina consists of the Federation of Bosnia-Herzegovina formed by the Washington Agreement, and the Republic of Srpska.

[Jevdjovic] So that federation is the federation of the Muslims and Croats.

[Milutinovic] Yes. Therefore, [changes thought] no, no, no, it is said very clearly that these are two entities with equal rights in everything, and the entire text of these basic principles is based on that. Both entities continue to live with their current constitutions, both entities have the right to establish special relations with neighboring countries, and that creates the conditions for their confederal linking with the FRY, that is, with Croatia. The final territorial delineation has been left for the next stage of the talks. The 51-49 percentage is the same, of course, but the maps have not been discussed, and they will doubtless be different to the maps that have been presented in the negotiations so far.

I think that for the first time we have made a significant breakthrough since, when you look at this document—which is hardly a page and a half long—it contains the principles we have essentially been striving for for years: The equality of the sides in the Bosnian conflict, which has been quite consistently propagated throughout the agreement. There is hardly a word that does not reveal this either implicitly or explicitly.

It also says that both sides, the two entities, have the duty to hold elections under international control, and to adopt and uphold all the international standards concerning human rights, including the obligation to provide complete freedom of movement, and the return of the displaced people to their homes. The basic principles also say that both sides should form joint agencies, and the most important one is the one that refers to the formation of a commission for the return of displaced people to their homes, the repossession of their property, and the receiving of just compensation, and so on, the preservation of national monuments, the system of arbitration, and so on. The commitment of both entities to hold elections under international control is also a very interesting commitment that the international community has set for both entities.

Therefore, when one reads every point carefully, I think for the first time so far we have really reached the basic principles, as they say, which will create the conditions for further development of the peace process. We primarily have to agree on the territorial delineation; we have to agree in more detail on the constitutional concept of Bosnia-Herzegovina. Of course, according to this, the joint constitutional functions are very limited, and so on, but they do exist.

[Jevdjovic] And each entity remains under its own constitution?

[Milutinovic] Yes, completely with its own constitution.

[Jevdjovic] Completely independently?

[Milutinovic] Completely independently. Therefore, what I am trying to say is that after such a long time of procrastination to reach what we have always wanted, what President Milosevic has always said—the equal status of both sides, the equal treatment—we cannot reach it all at once now. We have achieved very much with this agreement. It cannot all be done in one step, perhaps in two or three, but that is the basis.

Within a very short period, over the next 15 days the next round of talks will be held on the constitutional arrangements, briefly, then on the territorial delineation, but primarily the principles for the territorial delineation. Also what are the priorities in this delineation? So now we are down to serious work. After this breakthrough I think that all the sides involved in the Bosnian conflict have arrived at the stage that this has to be done, that there is no way now to avoid this.

Of course, we have to stress that for the first time now the international community, the entire Contact Group, has recognized the fact that the Republic of Srpska exists. This is something that we have to repeat five times. This is the first time that the name of the Republic of Srpska has been mentioned. So far it has always been [words indistinct as Jevdjovic interrupts Milutinovic and both speak at the same time] yes, yes, Bosnia-Herzegovina Federation formed by the Washington agreement. Today at the conference everybody spoke in a normal way about the Republic of Srpska, including the representatives of the Muslim government. So something has finally penetrated through to the consciousness of the people, and so on. Of course, there are plenty of problems here such as the problem with ending the hostilities, ending the bombing, very many problems that will require great efforts for resolving them, but everything is now being squeezed within a time framework in which a pile of things has to be solved, which is in a way good.

Of course, we will not do anything precipitously, we will not rush into anything. We have our own strategy, we have our tactics, we have our views and priorities. We have been waiting for this kind of a document for a long time. It really opens the roads. Of course, the international community stands behind this, and it should continue it. What they have done so far gives guarantees that we will succeed in the end.

Milutinovic: Desire for Lasting Peace Not Weakness

*LD0909092995 Belgrade TANJUG in English
0838 GMT 9 Sep 95*

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Geneva, Sept 8 (TANJUG)—Yugoslav Foreign Minister Milan Milutinovic said on Friday that Yugoslavia's desire to see lasting peace established in former Yugoslavia should not be taken as a weakness. Milutinovic headed a joint delegation of Yugoslavia and the Bosnian Serb Republika Srpska at Friday's ministerial meeting with Croatia and the Bosnian Muslim-Croat federation in Geneva.

In the course of the peace process, Yugoslavia has accepted numerous compromises solely in the interests of peace, but there is a limit and the wish for peace should not be taken as a weakness, he said.

In answer to a reporter's question, Milutinovic said that he was satisfied with the outcome of the Geneva meeting, primarily because it had achieved what the Yugoslav side had been urging for a long time—equal treatment of both entities in Bosnia.

Speaking about the continuation of the peace process, he said that the next stage would be more difficult, as it would concern a territorial [words indistinct].

Milutinovic said that the 49-51 parameter of the territorial proposal was fair, but the quality of the territories proposed was not.

He said that either entity in Bosnia must get a compact and economically viable territory, and it must not happen that the Serbs get only the hills.

Asked if this outcome of the Geneva meeting meant loss or gain for the Bosnian Serbs, Milutinovic said that this was a historic moment, but that it would probably take time for the Bosnian Serbs to realise what they had actually gained.

Speaking about the problem of the eastern Slavonia region he said that the problem was that Yugoslavia wanted to settle the matter peacefully, and Croatia did not. The problem is also that Croatia again tried to squeeze the matter in by the back door, as part of a very concrete topic, viz. Bosnia, he said.

Milutinovic stressed that a lifting of sanctions against the Yugoslav Federation of Serbia and Montenegro and democratic elections in Bosnia would solve many problems and difficulties.

In that case, the Bosnian Muslims will no longer be in a position to procrastinate in the peace process, making ever more conditions, he added.

Milosevic: Geneva Accord 'Key' to B-H Crisis

AU0909191795 Paris AFP in English
1855 GMT 9 Sep 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Paris, Sept 9 (AFP)—Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic told his French counterpart Saturday [9 September] that an agreement by former Yugoslav republics in Geneva was the key to resolving the Bosnia crisis, Jacques Chirac's office said.

In the accord on "basic principles" reached by Bosnian, Croatian and Serbian foreign ministers Friday, Belgrade would recognize Bosnia-Herzegovina [B-H] in its international borders and Sarajevo accept the existence of a Serb Republic on its territory.

The accord if implemented would virtually divide up Bosnia-Herzegovina along ethnic lines, though the U.S. brokers of the deal insist the division would not be equivalent to partition.

Chirac called Milosevic Saturday to "examine with him the next steps in the peace process," his office said.

The warring parties must still agree on the definition of a border between the Serb and Croat-Moslem entities. No agreement has been reached so far between rebel Serbs and Croatia over the disputed eastern Slavonia region which seceded from Croatia in 1991.

Under an international peace plan submitted by Britain, Germany, France, Russia and the United States last year, the rebel Serbs who now control roughly 70 percent would keep 49 percent of Bosnian territory with the Moslem-Croats keeping the remainder.

Chirac also brought up the fate of two French pilots whose plane was shot down during an airstrike over the Bosnian Serb stronghold Pale outside Sarajevo last week. His office did not give details.

French Defense Minister Charles Millon said Friday that French authorities were "relatively pessimistic" about the fate of the pair.

Serb, Montenegrin Parties Hail Geneva Agreement

LD1009142695 Belgrade TANJUG in English
1403 GMT 10 Sep 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Belgrade, Sept. 10 (TANJUG)—Political parties in the Yugoslav republics of Serbia and Montenegro have hailed the Geneva agreement on principles for further talks on the division of Bosnia and condemned NATO air strikes on the Bosnian Serbs.

A senior official of Montenegro's ruling Democratic Party of Socialists told TANJUG that the three sides involved in the Bosnian conflict had for the first time accepted the principles as a basis for a diplomatic solution to the crisis. 'The agreement shows NATO's bombing of military and civilian targets in the Republika Srpska (Bosnian Serb Republic) is unreasonable, unjust and brutal,' said Predrag Bulatovic.

He said the bombings must stop, as they were a sheer manifestation of force and an aggression on the Serbs.

Dusan Mihajlovic, the president of the New Democracy, a coalition party in the Serbian government, said the agreement and recognition of the Republika Srpska were historic events crucial to the peace process. 'With the acknowledgement of Republika Srpska not only as an entity, but as an autonomous whole that may develop special relations with Yugoslavia, we are closer to peace than ever' said Mihailovic.

Vice President of the Social-Democratic Party in Montenegro Srdjan Darmanovic told TANJUG 'I hope further breakthroughs toward peace will mean a beginning of the suspension, and subsequently the lifting of the sanctions against Montenegro and Serbia.'

The liberal alliance of Montenegro said the agreement gave hope that the terrors of war would be replaced by a peaceful outcome of the Bosnian crisis.

President of the executive board of the People's Party of Montenegro Predrag Drecun said the agreement was extorted. He said the fact that the basis of the agreement was an indivisible and entire Bosnia-Herzegovina within the administrative borders of the former Yugoslav republic was being kept secret from the public.

The Democratic Party welcomed the agreement and demanded of the Yugoslav government to condition its participation in the peace talks on an end to NATO bombings.

The Democratic Party of Serbia said the agreement had a 'preliminary character' and hoped the Republika Srpska would struggle for a more favorable constitutional arrangement.

The Serbian Radical Party said 'Bosnia-Herzegovina has been recognized within its communist borders and the Republika Srpska is mentioned merely as one of the entities of the Bosnian state' while NATO mercilessly continues to bomb the Bosnian Serbs.

The Democratic Reform Party of Vojvodina, the northern Serbian province, hailed the agreement as a triumph of reason, reality and a 'policy of compromise and cooperation, as pursued by Serbia and Yugoslavia in the past years,' and the defeat of nationalists.

The League of Communists—Movement for Yugoslavia hailed the agreement but condemned the barbaric air strikes that were killing innocent civilians.

The Democratic Center, a non-party organization, issued a statement saying that success over the agreement was marred by news of continued NATO bombings. The world must not remain indifferent to this barbaric destruction, said the statement.

Parties on Geneva Agreement, NATO Air Strikes

LD1009212895 Belgrade TANJUG in English
2122 GMT 10 Sep 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Belgrade, Sept. 10 (TANJUG)—Political parties in the Yugoslav Republics of Serbia and Montenegro have hailed the Geneva Agreement on principles for further talks on the division of Bosnia and condemned NATO air strikes on the Bosnian Serbs.

A senior official of Montenegro's ruling Democratic Party of Socialists told TANJUG that the three sides involved in the Bosnian conflict had for the first time accepted the principles as a basis for a diplomatic solution to the crisis.

'The agreement shows NATO's bombing of military and civilian targets in the Republika Srpska (Bosnian Serb Republic) is unreasonable, unjust and brutal,' said Predrag Bulatovic.

He said the bombings must stop, as they were a sheer manifestation of force and an aggression on the Serbs.

Dusan Mihajlovic, the president of the New Democracy, a coalition party in the Serbian Government, said the agreement and recognition of the Republika Srpska were historic events crucial to the peace process.

'With the acknowledgement of Republika Srpska not only as an entity, but as an autonomous whole that may develop special relations with Yugoslavia, we are closer to peace than ever' said Mihailovic.

Vice President of the Social-Democratic Party in Montenegro Srdjan Darmanovic told TANJUG 'I hope further breakthroughs toward peace will mean a beginning of the suspension, and subsequently the lifting of the sanctions against Montenegro and Serbia.'

The Liberal Alliance of Montenegro said the agreement gave hope that the terrors of war would be replaced by a peaceful outcome of the Bosnian crisis.

President of the Executive Board of the People's Party of Montenegro Predrag Drecun said the agreement was extorted. He said the fact that the basis of the agreement was an indivisible and entire Bosnia-Herzegovina within the administrative borders of the former Yugoslav republic was being kept secret from the public.

The Democratic Party welcomed the agreement and demanded of the Yugoslav Government to condition its participation in the peace talks on an end to NATO bombings.

The Democratic Party of Serbia said the agreement had a 'preliminary character' and hoped the Republika Srpska would struggle for a more favorable constitutional arrangement.

The Serbian Radical Party said 'Bosnia-Herzegovina has been recognized within its communist borders and the Republika Srpska is mentioned merely as one of the entities of the Bosnian state' while NATO mercilessly continues to bomb the Bosnian Serbs.

The Democratic Reform Party of Vojvodina, the northern Serbian province, hailed the agreement as a triumph of reason, reality and a 'policy of compromise and cooperation, as pursued by Serbia and Yugoslavia in the past years,' and the defeat of nationalists.

The League of Communists—Movement for Yugoslavia hailed the agreement but condemned the barbaric air strikes that were killing innocent civilians.

The Democratic Center, a non-party organization, issued a statement saying that success over the agreement was marred by news of continued NATO bombings. The world must not remain indifferent to this barbaric destruction, said the statement.

Serbia

Milosevic, Russia's Ivanov on Peace Settlement

LD0909193595 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1754 GMT 9 Sep 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Belgrade, 9 Sep (TANJUG)—Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic has received Igor Ivanov, Russian first deputy foreign minister, who arrived with aides in Belgrade this afternoon.

The talks focused on the latest developments and activities aimed at bringing the peace process to successful completion, and at creating conditions for the overall normalization of relations in former Yugoslavia, the Serbian President's Office said in a statement.

Ivanov conveyed Russia's appreciation of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia and President Milosevic's personal consistent peaceful policy and principled efforts to consolidate peace and stability in the Balkans and to develop equality among states and nations, and specifically to end the civil war and reach a political solution that will serve as the basis for future relations in Bosnia-Herzegovina.

This policy received its best confirmation and was finally affirmed with yesterday's adoption of basic principles at the Geneva meeting, which has opened the way to holding an international conference on peace in the area of the former Yugoslavia, likely to be held in the near future. Therefore, it is now essential that the military activity on the ground be halted as soon as possible, and above all the air strikes, and that parallel with preparations for the conference, a cease-fire is made possible.

The joint conviction was expressed that this great result, which above all ensures the equality of the [Bosnian] Serb Republic and Muslim-Croat Federation in Bosnia-Herzegovina—the most important prerequisite for peace—will also facilitate the solution of all other issues that should be incorporated in a global political solution, at the same time, contributing to speeding up as much as possible the preparatory activities for the convening and holding of the international peace conference. The FRY and Russia strongly support all efforts being made to this end, in the endeavor to bring the peace process to an objective conclusion. In this context it was stressed that the lifting of sanctions against the FRY will be the most important stimulus to establishing a lasting peace in the Balkans and to definitely abandoning biased assessments of the causes of the Yugoslav crisis, on the basis of which the sanctions against our country were introduced.

Also taking part in the talks were Yugoslav Foreign Affairs Minister Milan Milutinovic and Gennadiy Shikin, Russian ambassador to Belgrade.

Fodor Hails Yeltsin Decree on Sanctions

LD0909093595 Belgrade TANJUG in English 0742 GMT 9 Sep 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Belgrade, Sept. 8 (TANJUG)—Russian President Boris Yeltsin's decree on the unilateral easing of the U.N. Security Council sanctions against Yugoslavia in the humanitarian sphere is at this moment a very important political act, but its economic effects are still not precisely visible, Serbian Industry Minister Oskar Fodor said on Friday.

Fodor said it is very good that Yugoslav and Russian partners will now be able to directly sign contracts and realize various business deals as this automatically resolves the issue of meeting mutual obligations, contrary to the almost unsourmountable difficulties until now.

Fodor, however, warned that the situation would be completely different if Russia and Yugoslavia had even a kilometre-long joint border. As it is, goods are transported through several countries and this can only make more difficult the realization of business deals with the Russian Federation, regardless of their humanitarian aspect, Fodor said.

He said that the recent debate in the U.S. Congress on exempting the Bosnian Muslims from the arms embargo, had coincided with a decision to step up the control of the application of the economic sanctions on Yugoslavia 'on a bilateral basis.'

According to him, this represented additional pressure on Yugoslavia's neighbors to striclty observe the embargo.

Russia and Yugoslavia have signed a number of interstate contracts which regulate mutual relations in the sphere of ecomonic cooperation. After Yeltsin's decree on the unilateral easing of the sanctions, it is very important that the signed contracts come into force as soon as possible, Fodor said.

Fodor said that these contracts contain clauses that they will become legally applicable immediately after the lifting of the sanctions. We expect this to be the unavoidable and the second major step which should come very quickly, he said.

SPS Welcomes Geneva Agreement on Bosnia

LD0809170895 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1637 GMT 8 Sep 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Belgrade, 8 Sep (TANJUG)—The Geneva agreement, which today approved and officially recognized the status [ozvaniciti] of the [Bosnian] Serb Republic, represents the victory of the principled and persistent policy of peace pursued by President Slobodan Milosevic and the Socialist Party of Serbia [SPS], says a statement released by the SPS main committee.

The agreement on the basic principles for the peace plan for Bosnia-Herzegovina is of historic importance.

Today's agreement confirms the correctness of the SPS stance that the just causes of the Serb people's heroic struggle for freedom and equality can be achieved only through peaceful policy.

The SPS expects the resumption of talks and the forthcoming peace conference to bring a definitive end to the war, as well as peace, stability, prosperity, and a better future for the citizens, nations, and states in the Balkans, the statement says.

Parties Praise Milosevic on Geneva Agreement

LD0909090695 Belgrade TANJUG in English 0830 GMT 9 Sep 95

["Pool" item]

[FBIS Transcribed Excerpt] Belgrade, Sept. 8 (TANJUG)—Yugoslav government members on Friday sent a letter of congratulations to Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic on the ocassion of the adoption of elementary principles of the peace plan for Bosnia-Herzegovina, with which the big powers have recognized the Bosnian Serb state Republika Srpska, as an entity. [passage omitted]

The agreement in Geneva, which gave international confirmation and legalization to Republika Srpska, presents a victory of the principled and persistent policy of peace practiced by President Slobodan Milosevic and the Socialist Party of Serbia, said a statement by the main board of Serbia's Ruling Socialist Party of Serbia.

The agreement confirms the correctness of the party's stand that the just objectives of the heroic struggle of the Serb people for freedom and equality can be realized only through a policy of peace.

The president of New Democracy, the Socialists' coalition partner, Dusan Mihajlovic, congratulated Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic on the great diplomatic victory realized at the peace talks in Geneva.

The recognition of Republika Srpska by the five big powers which accepted the basic principles of the peace plan for Bosnia-Herzegovina presents the realization of the national and state interests of the Serb people as a whole [words indistinct] a victory of our policy of a peaceful settlement to the crisis and war in the interest of all three peoples in bosnia and the need for their equal treatment by the international community, Mihajlovic said.

President of the Serbian Renewal Movement, the biggest opposition party in Serbia, Vuk Draskovic, said on the ocassion of the agreement on Bosnia's division that news had arrived from Geneva of 'a great hope that an end has come to the time of death and that the time of peace is dawning.'

'It is easy to understand the great joy of millions of people in these lands, people who have the same roots and language, who have been pushed against their will into a senseless and terrible war,' Draskovic said.

The Socialist Party of Republika Srpska also sent a letter of congratulations to Milosevic on the occassion of the adoption of the elementary principles of the peace plan for Bosnia-Herzegovina at the meeting in Geneva of foreign ministers of Yugoslavia, Croatia and the Muslim government of Sarajevo, with members of the Contact Group.

'Republika Srpska has received international recognition. This has verified the results of the just struggle of the Serb people in former Bosnia-Herzegovina for survival, statehood and equality,' said the note of congratulations sent by this opposition party in Republika Srpska.

United Yugoslav Left Hails Geneva Agreement

AU0909191095 Belgrade RTB Television Network in Serbo-Croatian 1730 GMT 9 Sep 95

[FBIS Translated Text] The United Yugoslav Left hails the Geneva agreement with relief and hope. Its three points confirm that a principled stance and persistence of the FRY negotiators were the only correct way toward peace in Bosnia-Herzegovina.

The United Yugoslav Left firmly believes that the principled stance and the persistence of our country in search for a solution that would be in the interest of all three warring peoples will soon also result in the end of bombing, suspension of sanctions, and possibility of a peaceful and consensual resolution of all other tragic conflicts that were caused by the forceful destruction of the former Yugoslavia.

SPS Main Committee Attacks Milosevic's Policy

AU1009204795 Belgrade TELEGRAF in Serbo-Croatian 6 Sep 95 p 2

[Unattributed report: "Milosevic's Strategy Toward the Serbs Across the Drina Wrong"]

[FBIS Translated Text] At the last meeting of the Main Committee of the Socialist Party of Serbia [SPS] academician Mihajlo Markovic clashed fiercely with Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic. As TELEGRAF has learned from reliable sources close to the Serbian Socialists, Markovic criticized the overall national, state, and personnel policy of President Milosevic....

According to our sources, academician Markovic said that as opposed to the state and numerous independent media, which after the Croatian aggression on Knin, Drvar, and east Herzegovina have constantly praised and aggrandized the official policy of Belgrade and sought culprits for the fall of Krajina and the exodus of the entire Serbian population exclusively among the Knin and Pale leaderships—he did not share such an opinion at all. In a critical analysis of Milosevic's policy, the academician had no kind words for the behavior of his party chief in the Knin events, nor for his overall strategy toward the Serbs west of the Drina, including everything that has happened over the past few months between Pale and Belgrade.

As TELEGRAF's sources claim, Markovic here did not spare "the cavorting" of the Serbian Socialists with the Yugoslav United Left [JUL] either, especially the excessive media favoring of this party which, as he assessed, was a result of Milosevic's personnel policy in the official media, primarily in the most powerful one—the television. Assessing the reportage of the state television as almost shameful and scandalous, Markovic on this occasion demanded that Milosevic replace the chief creator of such reportage—Dragoljub Milanovic, editor of the RTS [Radio and Television Serbia] information program.

Slobodan Milosevic, our sources claim further, replied to academician Markovic directly. He rejected all criticism at his expense with a statement that he did not wish to be a president "of the country of black handkerchiefs." Within this context, he rejected the proposal to replace Dragoljub Milanovic, because Milanovic was, according to Milosevic, doing his job well.

What was particularly indicative at this session of the ruling party's "central committee"—our sources say further—was the fact that not a single member of the SPS Main Committee, and among those present were the party's Vice President Borisav Jovic and Secretary General Milomir Minic, supported President Milosevic in his criticism of Mihajlo Markovic or condemned the academician's harsh words. On the other hand, a member of the Main Committee who is a physician by profession supported the stance of academician Markovic....

Competent TELEGRAF sources claim that philosopher Mihajlo Markovic on this occasion definitively crossed "the threshold of disagreement" in the otherwise monolithic SPS leadership. After numerous statements which stood out from the official policy (especially the one that he must watch Studio B in order to learn about events in the country and abroad, as the state television is hiding information), the earlier sharp confrontation with JUL, and polemics with [JUL's director and Milosevic's wife] Mira Markovic, academician Markovic, the well-informed claim, has now reached the key point of disagreement with the official policy of Serbia. To be precise, with the creator of this policy, Slobodan Milosevic himself.

[Box, p 2]

Socialists Debating Relations With JUL

A debate about the future relations with JUL will soon open in basic and regional SPS committees. TELEGRAF's source from the SPS leadership emphasizes that the members of the ruling party are rather confused because in many regions the SPS and JUL have been equalized. "We will also discuss the fate of individual Socialists who are simultaneously JUL members. Only after the debate will we see whether they will have to make a choice," TELEGRAF's source claims.

Seselj: Milosevic 'Sunk Into Treason' Over RSK

AU1009200695 Belgrade NASA BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 8 Sep 95 p 4

[BETA report: "Seselj: Milosevic Suffering Defeat After Defeat"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Belgrade, BETA—Vojislav Seselj, president of the Serbian Radical Party (SRS), stated yesterday that Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic "definitely decided to break up the Republic of Serbian Krajina (RSK) and give it to Croatia."

The SRS leader added at the press conference that Milosevic, with the help of "the red berets, the State Security Service, Arkan's bandits, and the paramilitary formations is restoring order throughout the east RSK." "Hadzic abolished all RSK laws there. Parastate offices such as the Defense Council are being created and all these moves have only one goal—to surrender to Croatia," the SRS president said and added that "General Loncar is refusing all orders issued by RSK President Milan Martic."

According to the leader of the Radicals, Loncar has now "assumed the dirty role of General Mile Mrksic, who had obeyed all Milosevic's orders and betrayed Krajina, and is now completely forgotten."

Seselj accused the Serbian president that "the Serbian positions in the Serb Republic (RS) are being shelled with his consent." "The fact that Milosevic continues negotiations with those who keep up the shelling of the RS speaks of how deeply he has sunk into treason," he added.

Speaking about the internal political situation, Seselj assessed that "Milosevic is suffering defeat after defeat and that Avramovic's program has failed. The people in Serbia came to their senses and the Serbian Radicals are aware that the moment for the definitive political showdown is nearing," the SRS president said.

When asked about a possible coalition of the Socialists with the Serbian Renewal Movement (SPO), Seselj said that he "knew for sure that the talks about the SPO joining the government are under way." "We have nothing against the forging of this coalition because the SPO has recently had more points in common with the ruling party than with the SRS; however, the SPO should know that in this case it will share the fate of its coalition partner," Seselj added.

Serb Opposition Parties Criticize NATO Action

LD0909100895 Belgrade TANJUG in English 0817 GMT 9 Sep 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Belgrade, Sept. 8 (TANJUG)—Leader of the Serbian opposition Democratic Party Zoran Djindjic said Friday that NATO actions against Bosnian Serbs were acquiring the shape of a genuine military intervention. Speaking at a press conference in Belgrade, Djindjic said that at the outset of the Bosnian crisis the United States had acted as a spokesman for the interests of the Muslim countries.

'And now, when Clinton's presidential campaign enters its crucial stage, NATO wants to change the balance of forces on the ground ic Bosnia,' he said. Djindjic said he hoped that this would not happen overnight and that other big powers would no longer tolerate this kind of conduct on the part of the United States. He also said that Russian President Boris Yeltsin and the Kremlin administration should take more resolute steps to protect their interests, both in the Balkans and globally.

Jovan Glamocanin, who heads the opposition Nikola Pasic Radical Party, said that NATO Attacks constituted a criminal and genocidal act directed against the entire Serbian nation. 'This can be best seen from the fact that the heaviest casualties have been reported among civilians, including children, and that the bombs are destroying our cultural and historical monuments in an attempt to eradicate the very roots of our nation,' said Glamocanin.

The Serbian Unity Party issued a statement saying that 'the barbaric attacks by NATO forces, acting as judge and executor at the same time, are directly undermining negotiations aimed at finding a peaceful and just settlement of the Bosnian crisis.'

The party, which has no seats in the Serbian parliament, warned that NATO attacks were aimed at changing the balance of forces on the battlefront and forcing the Serbs to capitulate.

Serbian wwii veterans' association sharply condemned nato bombings and attacks by the un rapid reaction force on civilian targets in the Bosnian Serb republic, including schools and hospitals. 'On behalf of more than 300,000 members of our association who had actively participated in world war two, we warn that the violent methods used by NATO clash with the UN charter and in no way differ from punitive raids conducted by Nazi Germany against the Serbs and other nations,' the veterans said.

Kosovo

Rugova Receives Dutch, German, Canadian Diplomats

AU0809173795 Pristina KOSOVA DAILY REPORT in English 7 Sep 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] President of the Republic of Kosova Dr. Ibrahim Rugova received yesterday in Prishtina [Pristina] Ms. Stella Ronner, second secretary at the Royal Netherlands Embassy; Dr. Volker Pellet, consul at the Embassy of the Federal Republic of Germany; and Mr. Geoffrey Gartshore, second secretary at the Canadian Embassy in Belgrade. President Rugova informed the Belgrade-based diplomats about the grave and tense situation in Kosova amidst the Serbian regime's crackdown on Kosova and the systematic repression and violence against the Albanian population.

Dr. Ibrahim Rugova warned that the situation has been deteriorating in the wake of Serbia's stepped up moves to settle Serb refugees from Krajina to Kosova, aiming at colonizing Kosova and changing its ethnic composition. President Rugova of Kosova stated that an independent and neutral Kosova, being the expressed political will of the people through plebiscite, is the best solution which should be pursued within a negotiated political framework, pointing out that an international civil administration as an interim phase could facilitate normalization of life and be an ultimate solution to the Kosova issue through dialogue.

Other aspects of the Kosova reality and recent developments in the region were tackled in the meeting of President Rugova with Dutch, German, and Canadian Embassy officials in Prishtina yesterday.

Rugova Demands Halt to Serb Refugee Influx

AU1009145695 Pristina KOSOVA DAILY REPORT in English 8 Sep 95

[Report on news conference by Kosovar leader Ibrahim Rugova given in Pristina on 8 September]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] President Rugova of the Republic of Kosova pressed today for an "immediate cessation of the campaign of deployment of Serb refugees in Kosova," for continuation of the campaign, he said, would cause serious problems. The goal of the Serbian regime is apparent enough—colonization of Kosova—Dr. Ibrahim Rugova said in a press conference in Prishtina [Pristina] today.

President Rugova of Kosova called the "gravest provocation in the past few days in this context" the Serbian regime's plans to settle Serb colonists in the Lidhja e Prizrenit (The League of Prizren) memorial center in Prizren. "We demand that the Serbian regime backs off this step," Dr. Rugova said, adding: "I do not intend to be cynical or ironical, but there are Serb monuments (in Kosova) where they can accommodate Serb refugees, if that is to their liking." The Serb refugees from the Krajina region have been poured in Kosova against their own will, against the will of the majority people of Kosova (Albanians), but also against the will of the local Serbs, Kosova president stressed, noting that there have been cases of local Kosova Serbs protesting against the forceful deployment of Serb settlers in Kosova. "There have been diverse forms of pressures Serb refugees have been subjected to with a view to being forced to come to Kosova," President Rugova said, referring to a case in Nis (Serbia) where Serb refugees were cut off food supplies and other living needs to be forced to proceed to Kosova. Dr. Ibrahim Rugova said the Serbian regime would better serve the plight of Serb refugees if it saw that they returned back to their homes than to disturb the situation in Kosova.

President Rugova of Kosova called on Western countries to further pressurize the Serbian regime into bringing an end to the campaign of planting Serb colonists in Kosova.

Touching on the everyday life in Kosova, President Rugova said the Serbian regime has been continuing to systematically repress and oppress the Albanians, under diverse pretexts. "The last week saw a number of provocations and massive-scale violence of the Serbian regime against the Albanians," Dr. Ibrahim Rugova said, noting that in the aftermath of an incident at the Serbian police station at Irzniq village of Decan [Decani] on 29 August, at least 179 Albanian families in 13 villages of the municipality have been raided and searched by police expeditions, whereas at least 150 Albanians maltreated. Dr. Ibrahim Rugova made mention also of the Serbian police expedition in Podujeve [Podujevo] in the wake of a blast in the premises of the local secondary school (under Serbian control), which was used as a pretext for the maltreatment of many local Albanian residents. The Serbian police expeditions amount to nothing but retaliatory expeditions against Albanians, which resemble the Serbian regime's terror against Albanians between the two world wars, President of the Republic of Kosova said.

Recalling that the now routine practices of the Serbian police to raid on Albanian families, maltreat family members, and demolish furniture have gone unchecked in many Kosova municipalities, President Ibrahim Rugova said Albanian political activists have been targeted, too. The Skenderaj LDK [Democratic League of Kosova] branch chairman, Idriz Rrecaj, and the UNIKOMB [National Unity] Party Secretary-General Ramadan Bunjaku have been taken to police/security custody. President Rugova of Kosova said Mr. Adnan Merovci, technical secretary in his office, has been held in Serbian security headquarters since yesterday (7 September) morning, and has not been released yet. LDK Presidency members have likewise been harassed, President Rugova said, remarking that this amounted to a direct pressure over the President's Office.

Dr. Ibrahim Rugova denounced the Serbian regime's campaign of staged political trials against Albanians, referring to the two separate trials in Serbian-run courts in Prishtina and Prizren, and called for the immediate release of "hundreds of Albanian political prisoners" who have been convicted in the past few years.

Kosova President denounced Serbian regime's crackdown on the Albanian-language schools in Kosova, referring to fresh Serbian police expeditions against several schools in the Ferizaj [Urosevac] municipality. He called for Kosova Albanian teachers and students to be allowed access to public school buildings, which they have been denied for years by the Serbian regime.

In view of the ever deteriorating situation in Kosova amidst mounting Serbian crackdown, President Rugova demanded an international protection for Kosova, and bringing Kosova to the agenda within efforts for a comprehensive settlement of all the crises in former Yugoslavia. Respecting the political will of the people of Kosova for independence, with open borders to Albania and Serbia, is the best solution, Dr. Rugova said, reiterating the need for a temporary international civil administration over Kosova to facilitate a peaceful and negotiated settlement to the Kosova issue.

President Rugova hailed the next week's trip of President Sali Berisha of Albania to the U.S.A. as a very significant moment in the promotion of Albanian-American relations.

Ending his remarks, Dr. Ibrahim Rugova recalled the fifth anniversary of the promulgation of the "Kacanik Constitution," that is, the Constitution of the Republic of Kosova, pointing out that it has laid the legal foundations for the functioning of the state of Kosova and the Kosovar society in these very difficult circumstances.

Asked to comment on the diplomatic mission of U.S. Assistant Secretary of State Richard Holbrooke, and whether Kosova makes part of it, President Rugova maintained Kosova is included in the initiative, and expressed his hope Mr. Holbrooke will soon visit Prishtina and Tirana. Dr. Rugova further said inclusion of Kosova within the efforts to seek a comprehensive solution to all the crises in former Yugoslavia will benefit both Albanians and Serbs.

According to President Rugova, today's meeting of foreign ministers of Bosnia-Herzegovina, Croatia, and self-proclaimed Yugoslavia is the first step towards a global approach to the crisis in former Yugoslavia.

Replying to a Serb reporter's question as to whether Serbia could change the ethnic distribution in Kosova with, as she put it, the settlement of 10,000 Serbs, President Rugova said Serbia has not addressed the plight of Serb settlers as a humanitarian issue, but rather as "a political tool to colonize Kosova." He argued that the fact that Serb settlers are being promised land that formerly belonged to Kosova Albanians and Serbs, and jobs, from which Albanians had been kicked out forcefully, is an additional proof of the fact that colonization of Kosova is aimed at by the Serbian regime. "Besides," President Rugova of Kosova remarked, "Kosova is after all, excluding the Benelux countries, the most densely populated area in Europe," ending that there was enough space for Serb refugees to be settled in Serbia itself.

'Tense' Situation in Decani After Serb Raids

AU1009180495

[FBIS Editorial Report] Pristina KOSOVA DAILY REPORT in English No 699 and 700 on 7 and 8 September carries several reports on the situation in various areas following Serbian police raids and arrests of political activists.

It is reported that Adnan Merovci, Ibrahim Rugova's technical secretary, has been "held in Serbian security headquarters" in Pristina since 1000 on 7 September. A Serbian security officer called him at 0800 and ordered him to report back to the Serbian security offices in two hours' time. The Serbian officer "did not give any explanation" as to the "reason why Merovci was to report to the Serbian security." Further reports on 8 September cite his brother telling the Kosovo Information Center (KIC) that the Serbian security authorities had "declined" to give any explanations. It is noted that Merovci has been accompanying Rugova on his trips abroad "for over four years now."

Sources from the Albanian National Unity Party (UNIKOMB) report that the UNIKOMB secretary general was held on 6 September for 13 hours at the Serbian security headquarters because he published a statement in the Albanian-language BUJKU newspaper on the settlement of Krajina Serb colonists to Kosova. The UNIKOMB sources admit that "its senior official was questioned about the relations of the party with other political parties in Kosova, as well as the political program of unification of the Albanians." The secretary was reported released late in the evening after being subject to "provocative questions about the recent cases of wounding of some Serb policemen in Kosova, as well as the alleged existence of a certain UNIKOMB headquarters."

BUJKU reports on 7 September that the premises of the Podujevo secondary school, which were "taken over by the Serbian regime" five years ago, have been "teeming with Serb settlers from Croatia." At around 2200 on the evening of 5 September, with the pretext of "shots/blasts heard at the schoolyard, the Serbian police engaged on a retaliatory expedition" against Podujevo residents. BUJKU says that "many local residents and workers in the afternoon shift of the local steelworks factory were beaten up severely," adding that "most of them had to seek first aid at the local healthcare." BUJKU quotes unofficial circles as saying that "a dispute between the Serbian police and the Serbian refugees from Croatia, who had been brought to this town, was the immediate source for the pretext to harass and intimidate Albanians." BUJKU also states that "some Serb settlers, who have been resisting being settled there, tried to flee to Serbia."

It is also reported that "the political situation in Decan [Decani] has been very tense over the last 10 days. Since the incident of 29 August, when two Serbian policemen were wounded under yet unclear circumstances, the Serbian police stationed in this municipality has undertaken a wide-scale campaign of repression against the Albanian population. Under the pretext of searching for alleged perpetrators, the Serbian police have raided on hundreds of Albanian families in 13 villages. The number of the families raided on reached 179 yesterday."

On 6 September, after having "raided a dozen Albanian households" at Broliqe village, the Serbian police expedition "headed towards" Prilep, Drenoc, and Sllup villages and raided the homes of 20 Albanians. The same police expedition raided the homes of eight Albanians in Drenovc village. The police were reported to be "very vandal" while "demolishing a lot of home furniture and causing other damages."

Reports say that the police "beat up severely" a secondary school student and raided the homes of four Albanians in Sllup village. One of the Albanians was "beaten up severely" and "forced to swallow a poster exhibiting an eagle." Fresh reports coming from Decani speak of "Serbian police brutality at Lumbardh village," raiding the home of an Albanian, whom the police reportedly "tied up to a carriage in his yard" and "put on him a horse collar" to "humiliate him." The Albanian was reported "beaten up until he lost consciousness."

Another report on 7 September says that the Serbian police on 6 September raided the premises of the primary school in Komogllave village in Urosevac and detained the school secretary. The Serbian security apprehended the school principal and 13 teachers of the primary school in Tankosiq village, who were released soon, whereas the owners of the house where the teaching is conducted were held at the police station for "over four hours" and were reported subject to "physical torture." Reports confirm that the Serbian police raided other Albanian schools in Urosevac municipality, as well as the primary school in Lloshkabare and a new school building in Urosevac.

It is also reported from Mitrovica that the Serbian police on 5 September summoned an Albanian and his son, residents in Broboniq village, to report to the police station "allegedly in connection with illegal arms possession." Reports note that the Serbian police raided the home of two Albanians in Pristina and Klina under the pretext of "arms searches." The Albanians were reportedly "beaten up severely at the police station." Under the same pretext, the Serbian police on 2 August raided "for the third time" the home of an Albanian in Cerovik village, who was reported subject to "police torture."

KOSOVA DAILY REPORT on 8 September points out that the Serbian police in Pristina raided the offices of the Albanian-language newspaper BOTA SOT (The World Today), which is published in several western European countries. A BOTA SOT Editorial Board member told KIC that "five Serbian state security officers raided on the offices and checked the ID's of the staff and correspondents who happened to be there. Subsequently, all the journalists were forced out, while Milazim Krasniqi, the editor-in-chief of the newspaper was arrested. The Serbian state security seized the entire equipment of the newspaper, including two telephone sets, one fax machine, three computers, a printer, as well as written materials due to be published in tomorrow's edition of the newspaper." The newspaper board member also said that the Serbian state security officers provided "neither a search warrant nor a verbal explanation" as to the reason for the raid and seizure of equipment.

It is reported that a Serbian police expedition on 7 September "roamed on the streets" of Glogovac and Komoran village "harassing dozens of citizens for no reason whatsoever." The Serb policemen reportedly raided several shops in the town. The police detained the administrator of the primary school in Korretic e Eperme village and a Mother Teresa Association Presidency member, who was "interrogated on the activities of this association and the Albanian political parties." The Serbian police on 7 September interrogated a local LDK Presidency member, who was "held at the police station for over four hours" and was reported subject to "physical torture." The Serbian police also summoned the chairman of the Municipal Education Funding Council in Shtime to report to the police station.

BULK RATE
U.S. POSTAGE
PAID
PERMIT NO. 352
MERRIFIELD, VA.

This is a U.S. Government publication produced by the Foreign Broadcast Information Service (FBIS). Its contents in no way represent the policies, views, or attitudes of the U.S. Government.

FBIS collects, translates, disseminates, and analyzes foreign open-source information on behalf of the U.S. Government. Its publications may contain copyrighted material. ***Copying and dissemination is prohibited without permission of the copyright owners.***

- — Bracketed indicators before the first sentence of each item describe the way in which the material was processed by FBIS.
- — Headlines and all bracketed explanatory notes are supplied by FBIS.
- — Personal and place names are rendered in accordance with the decisions of the U.S. Board on Geographic Names as adapted by FBIS. Unverified names in radio and television material appear in parentheses and are spelled phonetically; words and phrases in parentheses preceded by a question mark are unclear in the original and deduced from context.

SUBSCRIPTION INFORMATION

U.S. Government Customers

For a list of FBIS products, to subscribe to an FBIS publication, or to indicate a change of address contact:

FBIS
P.O. Box 2604
Washington, DC 20013-2604
Telephone: (202) 338-6735
FAX: (703) 733-6042

Non-Government Customers

Subscriptions are available from the National Technical Information Service:

NTIS
5285 Port Royal Road
Springfield, VA 22161
Telephone: (703) 487-4630
FAX: (703) 321-8547

New subscribers should expect a 30-day delay in receipt of the first issue.